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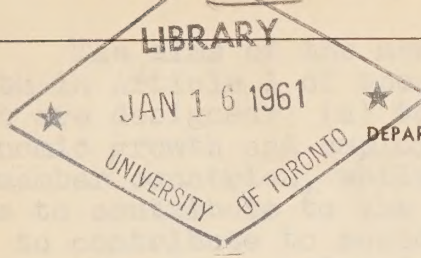


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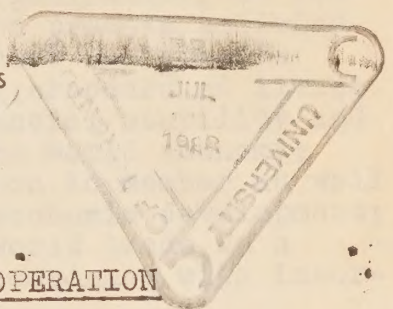
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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES



INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 61/1

## ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A statement to the House of Commons on  
December 16, 1960, by the Minister of  
Finance, Mr. Fleming.

I should like to offer the House a report on the successful outcome of the meeting held in Paris on December 13 and 14 to consider and sign a Convention under which the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is to be established next year.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Hees) and I represented the Government and signed the Convention on behalf of Canada. Other representatives signed on behalf of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the three European communities; that is to say, the Coal and Steel Community, the Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community. It is the intention of the Government to seek Parliamentary approval of the convention at this session.

On January 18 last I made a report to the House on the events that had led to the establishment in 1948 of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation in connection with the Marshall Plan, to the subsequent associate membership of Canada and the United States in that Organization in 1950, and to the recent decision to reconstitute the Organization to meet the needs of the future and to provide for the full membership of these two countries. It is gratifying to be able, less than a year later, to report to the House that the task of reconstitution has been accomplished, subject to the necessary processes of ratification.

Negotiations have proceeded very actively throughout the past year. In July a second Ministerial meeting was held in Paris in order to give guidance and direction to the negotiators. My report on that meeting was read to the House by my Parliamentary Secretary on July 25.





The aims of the newly constituted Organization, as set forth in Article 1 of the Convention, are to promote policies that are designed: (a) to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in member countries, while maintaining financial stability and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy; (b) to contribute to sound economic expansion in member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development; and (c) to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

The activities of the Organization may be broadly classified under three heads: trade, aid, and the harmonization of the economic policies of member governments. Of these, the third is the least familiar but it might well emerge as the most important. Therefore I should like to speak of it first.

In the field of economic policy there is growing recognition of international inter-dependence. National economies have become more sensitive to changes in world trends and to measures taken in other countries. Actions taken by individual governments often have external repercussions and, indeed, the efficacy of national action is to a large extent dependent upon the policies followed in other countries. Accordingly, it has been agreed that in the new Organization the economic and financial situation in member countries and policies pursued by member governments will be kept under review. Special attention will be paid to the international effects of national policies. And, as set out in the Convention, member countries have undertaken to pursue, both individually and jointly, "policies designed to achieve economic growth and internal and external financial stability and to avoid developments which might endanger their economies or those of other countries".

Similarly, in the field of trade, member countries agree to review together their general policies and practices and to devote special attention to the international effects of their actions. The Organization will provide a continuing forum for consideration of the effects, on member countries and on others, of the trade groupings that are emerging in Europe. I refer, of course, to issues arising from the formation of The Six and The Seven. Such matters as these are of concern currently and for the future. On the other hand, it has been decided that much of the earlier activity of the OEEC in the field of trade, which was of regional character and often discriminated against the rest of the world, should be discontinued. The new Organization is, as I have said, to promote the expansion of trade on a multilateral and non-discriminatory basis, thus contributing to the achievement of the purposes of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.





Turning finally to the field of aid, it should be explained that the existing Organization, the OEEC is already engaged in useful programmes of technical assistance in the less fully developed countries amongst its own membership; these are countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Such programmes may be expected to continue. However, the Organization also includes the most fully industrialized countries of the world and, under the new constitution, these countries are recognizing a responsibility for aid not only to their less developed neighbours and associates but also to under-developed countries throughout the world. Without awaiting the new constitution, the chief aid-providing countries of Europe, along with representatives of Japan, have already during the course of the past year held three meetings, two in Washington and one in Bonn. This group is to become the Development Aid Committee of the new Organization. Its purpose is to promote, by means of consultation and harmonization, an improved flow of aid to under-developed countries.

The new OECD provides great hope for the economic future of the free world. The significance of its role will depend on the willingness of all member countries to make their full contribution and, through co-operation and consultation, to ensure effective use of their capacities and potentialities, and to promote the highest sustainable growth of their economies and those of other countries. It will be the intention of the Canadian Government to make the Organization an effective instrument for the betterment of our own people and of people throughout the world....

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 61/2

## BORDERS AND BRIDGES

Speech by Mr. Donald Fleming, Minister  
of Finance, to the Economic Club of  
Chicago, February 14, 1961.

"...This occasion affords me a welcome and perhaps timely opportunity to discuss several matters of recent origin affecting Canadian-American relations. To state the fact in the simplest terms, Canada and the United States are the best neighbours in the world. We think the same thoughts about many matters, including the little things as well as the larger issues of international significance. We have no serious differences, and when difficulties arise we find it easy to discuss them together, and to resolve them amicably. It is in that spirit that I have come to discuss with you today certain economic questions affecting Canadian-American relations. In thus confining my remarks I take for granted the larger objectives of national and international policy on which we usually see alike.

### Co-operation on Boundary Projects

Our two countries are linked by many ties of history, geography and economics. While we share a very long common boundary, we have no border disputes or fears of the old-fashioned type. These ended over 100 years ago. Today, our two countries are much more concerned, and properly so, with making plans to develop jointly some of the resources which lie along or run across our mutual border, particularly our boundary waters. It is not very long since our two countries joined in a co-operative plan to turn the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes into a vastly more modern transportation artery, and to harness the international section of the St. Lawrence River to produce electric power for the people of Ontario and New York State. These projects are an illustration of the kind of economic bridges we are throwing across our common border.

To mention an even more recent example, it just a few weeks since Prime Minister Diefenbaker and President Eisenhower met in Washington to pen their signatures to a



treaty for the co-operative development of the resources of the Columbia River basin. This is a project that has been under examination by our two countries for a number of years. It followed a study made by the International Joint Commission, under whose auspices our two countries have worked together in a neighbourly way for many decades to settle boundary water questions.

When the treaty is ratified, the appropriate entities in both countries will build certain reservoirs and dams to harness the waters of the Columbia River basin for the benefit of both countries. The three major reservoirs to be constructed in British Columbia will store the water needed for regulating the flow so as to increase the production of hydro-electric power downstream in the United States and, when the generating plants are built, at certain sites in Canada as well, and to give greater flood protection to the United States.

The treaty embodies the principle that Canada will share in the benefits derived from this storage by the United States and that Canada will regulate the flow of water in a manner which best suits the interests of both countries. In addition, the treaty makes provision for the United States, if it so decides within a five-year period, to build a storage dam and power facilities on the Kootenai River at Libby in Montana. The significant feature of this project is that it will involve the creation of a new lake on the river that will flood a sizeable piece of Canadian territory. The Libby project would not be economic without this storage, and Canada's agreement to its construction involves surrendering the ability to develop power of our own at sites within Canada on this same river, or on rivers adjacent to it, in the interest of a larger overall plan.

The point I emphasize is that arrangements of the kind envisaged by the treaty involve many complex economic matters and many sensitive questions of national sovereignty on both sides. Notwithstanding this, our two countries have been able to reach an agreement which rises above these difficulties in order to yield the greatest measure of joint benefit. We have found that, by working together, by being prepared to give as well as to take, both our countries can fare better than is possible if each of us chose "to go it alone". To work matters out co-operatively and to pay due regard to the way in which the plans of both countries can be harmonized to serve the interests of the other makes good common sense. The Columbia River Treaty should create a new bridge between our countries.

#### Trans-Border Trade in Goods and Services

Opportunities for making co-operative arrangements of this kind do not arise very frequently. In the ordinary course, the process of bridge-building arises from the daily





business of buying goods and services from each other. Such business is really big business. In 1959 Canadians purchased \$3.7 billion of goods from the United States, while the United States purchased \$3.2 billion of goods from Canada. If we take account of payments made for travel, interest and dividends, freight, shipping and other such services, we find that Canadians paid roughly \$5.6 billion to the people of the United States, while the United States paid about \$4.4 billion to the people of Canada. The difference of about \$1.2 billion, by coincidence, is very nearly the amount which Americans invested in Canada in that year.

As a matter of fact, the total earnings from Canada by the United States in 1959 constituted approximately one-quarter (\$5.6 billion versus \$22.9 billion) of your total receipts from the entire world. In other words, more dollars move across our border in both directions for the buying and selling of goods, services, properties and investments than between any other two countries in the world. Canada is the largest export market for the United States and the most continuously large and rewarding outlet for American investment abroad. Looked at from the Canadian point of view, the United States is our largest export market by far, and provides the lion's share of our requirements for imports of commodities, services and capital. And I suspect that about a quarter to a third of this two-way trade is conducted between Canada and the area served by the Chicago region.

### Effects of U.S. Investment and Competition

Our two countries both seek to expand trade with each other and with the rest of the world. As an exporting country of only 18 million people living alongside a nation of ten times our population, Canada obviously enjoys the great advantages of propinquity in trading with you. Your massive industrial economy has an enormous appetite for raw materials of all kinds, many of which you find it convenient to buy in large quantities in Canada. Many of your large corporations have made investments in our natural resource industries to ensure a steady and reliable supply of these resources. On the other hand you are able to sell an enormous quantity of fabricated industrial and consumer goods to Canada which, because of the large scale of production which is possible in a country of your size, can often be produced more cheaply than in Canada, and in greater variety. This competition sometimes makes things very difficult for our secondary manufacturing industries. Canadians would naturally like to see some of the tariff obstacles which stand in the way of an increase in our exports to the United States reduced, including some tariffs on manufactured items.

Since the United States is Canada's largest export market by far, we Canadians are the most devoted group of students of the United States economy to be found outside the United States itself. We watch the behaviour of your key economic





indices; we are reassured when economic expansion is under way and we share your concern whenever production falters. Often we wish Americans were as interested in Canada as Canadians are in the United States. As I have already mentioned, the flow of dollars across our common boundary for goods and services is by no means equal. Last year 18 million Canadians bought \$660 million more worth of goods from the United States than your 180 million people bought from us. On a per capita basis, this difference is even more striking. Per capita, we Canadians imported about \$205 of your commodities; you imported from us only about \$17 in Canadian goods per capita. Likewise, Canadian tourists travel in greater numbers in the United States than do American tourists in Canada, with our excess expenditures now amounting to about \$100 million per annum. And, of course, the net outward flow of funds from Canada to the United States to meet interest and dividend payments on United States investment is drawing close to \$500 million a year, and is still growing.

#### Annual Deficit

Canada's total annual deficit with the United States for all these current account items taken together in each of the last four years has run between \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion. Since our total trade in goods and services with all other countries combined is roughly in balance, this is about the same as Canada's total net deficit. If we translate such figures into terms appropriate to the United States, with a population ten times ours, and a volume of production 14 times as great, it is as if the United States had a deficit in its international accounts for goods and services of somewhere between \$10 billion and \$20 billion. I suspect that if you had a deficit of this magnitude, instead of the present \$3 billion figure, it would be treated as a matter of really serious concern, even if the deficit were matched, as is the case in Canada, by a corresponding inflow of external capital. But I shall return to this subject of the balance of payments and foreign investments later.

Anyone who studies the present economic situation in our two countries would be impressed by the similarities that are revealed. In both countries we have seen a slowing-down in the rate of economic growth during 1960 and an unusually high volume of unemployment. On the other hand, in both countries the economy is operating at a very high rate of activity. In both countries business inventories in 1960 appeared to be excessive and had to be reduced. In both countries the volume of new capital investment, while it was maintained at a very high level, nevertheless fell below expectations. The heavy investment programmes of the last decade have led to the appearance of a certain amount of surplus industrial capacity. It would seem that both economies have been influenced by similar casual factors.



Of course both economies have been operating for the last 15 years in an international environment which originally called for a great increase in productive facilities, but which has since undergone a real transformation. It should not surprise us therefore that the vast programme of capital investment undertaken in North America since 1945, much of which was required to satisfy the needs of a war-impooverished world, should have created some surplus capacity now that the economies of Western Europe and Japan have been rebuilt. The growth of new industrial facilities overseas on the scale we have seen was bound to create situations calling for adjustment in North America. However, while these adjustments may take time before they are complete, we can both speed up the process by proper policies.

Another new element in the world economy to which we must adapt ourselves is the success which has been finally achieved in the key industrial countries of Europe in containing the inflationary forces which were at work throughout the last decade or more. While all of us welcome the restoration of stable monetary conditions, producers in North America generally must recognize that they can no longer expect that the competition which they encounter in markets at home and abroad will be eased by virtue of the inflation of prices and costs in foreign markets. I have been acutely conscious of the implications of the growth of overseas competition for our Canadian producers and have repeatedly pointed to the need to keep costs down and to improve the efficiency of production.

### Balance of Payments

Both our countries today face a balance-of-payments problem, but, so far as the United States is concerned, the experience is an unfamiliar one. Your problem, as I understand it, is that you are experiencing an overall balance-of-payments deficit which for several years now has been running at a rate of \$2 or \$3 billion a year, and in consequences are suffering steady losses of gold and foreign exchange. The situation seems to be that, while your total trade in goods and services is reasonably in balance, the outflow of funds resulting from foreign investment and from your foreign-aid programme is in excess of the inward movement. It would hardly be proper for me to comment on the implications of this problem for United States policies. What I can say is that we in Canada have a sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties in which you find yourselves, and that we welcome the implicit desire of the Administration and the Congress to avoid measures for solving them which would only create balance-of-payments difficulties for other countries, or slow down the progress of the world towards a freer system of international trade.

Our balance-of-payments situation, of course, is quite different in character. For one thing the total flow of international payments and receipts is in substantial balance.





The value of our dollar on the foreign exchange markets is very strong, and we have not had to cope with an outflow of gold or foreign exchange.

There is nothing extraordinary about the stability of our gold and foreign-exchange reserves, because, as you know, Canada has a floating rate of exchange. Our total international payments and receipts are partly kept in balance by reason of fluctuations in the value of the Canadian dollar and, as you all know, over the last decade our dollar has often been at a substantial premium, despite the existence of a regular and large deficit in our international trading.

The explanation of this apparent paradox - the co-existence of a balance of payments deficit and a premium price for our currency on the exchange markets - lies in the substantial and continuous inflow of capital into Canada from other countries, with the greater proportion coming, of course, from the United States. It is no new thing for Canada to be affected by substantial inward movements of foreign capital. The difficulty in recent years is that our exchange rate, and the structure of the balance of payments, have been subject to the influence of a capital inflow that may have been greater than the economy really required in terms of some forms of imported capital. When this happens, it raises the exchange value of the dollar unduly, which serves to cheapen the cost of commodity imports in comparison with the prices of domestic goods. When this happens imports tend to increase unnecessarily and Canadian exports, having become more expensive to buyers abroad, tend to decline, or do not rise as much as they should. Too much foreign investment in Canada in certain forms, or too much borrowing abroad by various Canadian entities, can have unfavourable consequences to the economy. That is one reason why many Canadians have been giving searching thought to the whole subject of external investment in Canada.

### Need for Foreign Investment

It appears that the discussion of this question in Canada has given rise to some misunderstanding in some quarters in the United States concerning the attitude of Canada towards foreign investment. In times like these when investors in the United States have been exposed to the confiscation of their holdings in Cuba, in a spirit of ill-will, and without attempts to negotiate such matters, or to pay proper compensation, it is natural that feelings in the United States should become sensitive to any questions that may be raised concerning the role of foreign investment, even in a country as friendly to United States business and United States investment as Canada. I think that this sensitiveness may be the reason for the concern that has been expressed in a few places in response to a measure I proposed a few weeks ago on behalf of the Canadian Government.





I refer to the increase in the withholding tax applied in Canada to the interest and dividends sent abroad by foreign companies doing business in Canada, or paid by Canadians to their foreign creditors.

This measure is intended merely to remove the special inducements in Canadian tax law which have grown up when circumstances were different from those of today, and which had the effect, for example, of encouraging Canadian borrowers such as provincial and municipal governments, as well as business corporations, to prefer borrowing abroad rather than in the Canadian capital market. We, like you, have always had a tax on external remittances of investment income, somewhat comparable with the ordinary income tax on the earnings of Canadian citizens. However, in the course of time we had exempted many such remittances to non-residents from the tax, or portions of the tax. We are now proposing that in future the foreign investor concerned should make the same normal and equitable contribution to the cost of carrying on government in Canada as has always been paid by the non-exempt investors. But I emphasize as strongly as I can that this increase in the withholding tax on certain types of investment hitherto exempt is not an indication of any desire on Canada's part to interfere with the creative investment of American or other outside capital in Canadian industry and commerce. Nor do I believe it will have this effect. We have every reason for and every intention of continuing to make foreign investment in Canadian industry thoroughly welcome in Canada.

Foreign investment has always played a vital role in enlarging the productive facilities of our country and in speeding up our economic development, as was the case for that matter in the United States itself up to the beginning of this century. If we go back to the history of the decade before World War I, we find that there were certain years when the flow of foreign investment into Canada was even greater than it is today, after allowing for the higher purchasing power that the dollar enjoyed in those days. The statistics of the period 1900 to 1914 in terms of foreign investment in Canada have been well documented by a former Canadian well known to most of you as a distinguished economist who for many years was a member of the Economics Faculty of the University of Chicago. I refer to Jacob Viner and to his study of "Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness 1900-1913", published in the early 'twenties. In those days the principal medium of foreign investment in Canada was the bonds or shares of our federal, provincial and municipal governments, or of our railways and other public utilities, which were issued in London or, to a much lesser extent, in New York. Also, even at that time, outside money was being invested in branch plants in Canada, or in purely Canadian firms. Professor Viner calculated that the total net foreign capital inflow for the 14-year period was about \$2.5



billion, or an average rate of about \$200 million a year. Indeed the gross inflow in each of the years 1912 and 1913 averaged some \$400 to \$500 million. Allowing for the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar, this might be equivalent to a capital investment today perhaps four times as great. When we reflect that the population of Canada in those days was less than one-third of its present size, a capital inflow of this magnitude can only be described as enormous by any standard. Those capital inflows were resumed in the 1920's, but after the onset of the great depression of the 'thirties, the net movement of capital was outwards rather than inwards, since debt repayments were in excess of new foreign investment. The next period of heavy movements of foreign capital into Canada began about ten years ago and is still continuing.

### Why Foreign Investment Attracted

The reasons why Canada is able to attract foreign investment or to borrow in external money markets in such large amounts year after year are self-evident. First, Canadian governments have always treated foreign capital in exactly the same manner as domestic investments in respect to tax treatment and other such matters, and have maintained an economic climate that was favourable to investment generally. The record of our borrowers and the earnings from foreign investments have been as good as could be found anywhere. The reputation Canadian governments and corporations enjoy is something we are all anxious to safeguard.

In the second place, the opportunities for profitable investment have exceeded the available supply of domestic savings. During the last decade Canada has had a particularly high level of governmental, corporate and private capital investment. In recent years the figure has exceeded 25 per cent of our Gross National Product. This is a very high proportion to be devoted to public and private investment projects, judged by any standard. The level of savings in Canada during most of this period was very high, but even then it was only sufficient to support about four-fifths of this capital formation. And of such domestic saving, too small a proportion was invested in new industrial facilities, or in our new and dynamic resource industries.

### Filling the Capital Gap

To meet the deficiency of capital and enterprise required to promote the needs of an expanding economy, United States and other foreign investors, attracted by the opportunities that existed or by the higher rates of interest paid for borrowed capital, were glad to fill the gap. We were fortunate in being able to attract such capital. So far as our national resources are concerned, many large industrial corporations in the United States have found it advantageous to open up new mining properties and other natural resources to supply the raw materials needed by





their parent companies in the United States. I am thinking, for example, of iron-ore mining, where the product is required by the steel mills of the parent companies in the United States to take the place of the ores formerly supplied from domestic sources, and no longer available.

In the case of our manufacturing industries, the Canadian tariff on imported manufactures has long since served, by design, to encourage the establishment of various manufacturing industries in Canada, and this has often been done by subsidiaries of foreign, including American parent companies. This has been particularly marked in the automobile, rubber, electric-apparatus and chemical industries.

In addition to these direct investments, there is a substantial and continuing interest on the part of outside investors in the bonds and shares of Canadian provincial and municipal governments and corporations. Some of these borrowers have found it more convenient and less costly to borrow their requirements in New York and, to a much lower degree, in some of the European money markets.

#### Types of Foreign Investment

Leaving aside the inward and outward flow of short-term capital movements, which anyway tends to cancel out over the long run, it may be said in quite general terms that the flow of foreign investment into Canada today consists of three equal types. Using the statistics relating to 1959 the amount directly invested (that is, in branch plants and the like) totalled about \$500 million. Second, the amount of new issues of Canadian securities sold abroad, these being mainly municipal and provincial bonds, and a certain number of corporation shares and bonds, totalled about \$540 million. And third, there was a net inflow of funds to purchase existing Canadian securities and for other capital purposes amounting to some \$530 million. Against this there was an outward movement of funds arising from the investments of Canadian concerns in their subsidiaries abroad or from the purchase of American and other external securities, amounting to about \$60 million. Taking into account all inward and outward movements the net capital inflow in 1959 was slightly more than \$1400 million.

This experience makes Canada by far the world's largest importer of long-term capital at the present time. At the end of 1958, the last year for which estimates have been made, gross foreign investment of all kinds on capital account was \$20.7 billion. On the other side of the ledger the gross external assets of Canada were then about \$7.7 billion, or about one-third as large as our external liabilities. This results in a net foreign indebtedness of \$13 billion. Just seven years ago (in 1953) the comparable figure was only \$6.0 billion. This means that in the last seven years the net foreign investment



in Canada has more than doubled, growing by rather more than it grew over the entire previous period of recorded economic history, if we ignore changes in the purchasing power of the dollar. Now I am not implying for one minute that these magnitudes in themselves constitute a problem for Canada. The governmental and corporate bodies have had no difficulty in meeting their interest and capital-repayment obligations and the outward flow of corporation dividends has steadily increased. With the growth of production and incomes in Canada, the ratio of foreign indebtedness to national income is much smaller than it has been in most earlier periods. So long as this condition continues, and so long as our ability to earn external revenues from trade continues to grow, there should be no difficulty on this score, or in terms of the so-called transfer problem.

Moreover, we all know full well that Canada could not have achieved the rapid and broadly-based expansion of our productive facilities without these foreign investments. We fully recognize the great benefits which the economy has derived by reason of the new manufacturing and industrial techniques which have been introduced, and of the natural resources which have been developed. Foreign capital has developed many new enterprises which were too large or unfamiliar for Canadian savings and enterprise to handle. Many of the investments in new plant or in mining or oil properties involved too big a financial risk or too long a waiting period for Canadian finance to carry without outside assistance.

I should mention, however, that there are a few facts associated with external investment which do give us concern. The first arises from the implications of external ownership in some of our industries. Although these adverse consequences may seem rather small when set against the advantages the economy derives from the investment in question, this nevertheless does not mean that they can be ignored.

### Canadian Saving and Investment

The second fact is that Canada is now in a position in which it is able to meet a larger proportion of its capital requirements from its own savings and where it is desirable that everything within reason should be done to encourage a greater degree of Canadian saving and investment in Canadian industry. Related to this is our concern to avoid such foreign borrowing as may be in excess of our real requirements, as happens from time to time. Such excess borrowing, by reason of its effect on the exchange rate, can have adverse consequences for production and employment.

So far as the first point is concerned, foreign investment brings a growing degree of external control over many important Canadian industries. In earlier periods this may have been inevitable, but with the growth in our ability to save and invest





we should like to see provision made by the external owners themselves for a wider degree of Canadian participation in such industries. At the present time external investors, operating usually through subsidiaries, have a controlling interest of about 50 per cent of all Canadian manufacturing industry. In some branches of our manufacturing industries the percentage of external control is much higher than this, as is the case in industries like oil, natural gas, mining and smelting. I think that in altogether too many cases some externally-owned manufacturing and resource industries have not taken full advantage of their opportunities to increase the proportion of Canadian ownership and management. Nor have they pondered deeply enough on the desirability of engaging in more research work in Canada, or of permitting the Canadian company to seek export markets, instead of leaving the responsibility for such matters to the parent company. I know that most subsidiaries enjoy great advantages from their association with the parent company, without any cost to them. They share in the result of the research conducted by the parent company. But many subsidiary companies have found it desirable and profitable to strengthen the research function of the Canadian subsidiary, or to give it freedom to engage in competition for foreign markets, including the freedom to compete with the parent company. I should like to see more of this kind of corporate liberty.

However, these deficiencies must be weighed in the balance against the great benefits which foreign investment has brought to Canada. By and large, they are matters which should be corrected by methods of persuasion and good sense rather than by direct government intervention. It is recognized that for Canada to think in terms of any narrow economic nationalism would mean running against the worldwide trend towards international interdependence, and counter to the policies of greater freedom of trade payments which we have supported so strongly in every international forum. More important still, it would be damaging to our own best interests. American investment in Canada constitutes a bridge between our two countries and I am sure that all of us wish to keep the structure of the bridge sound and strong.

#### Increased Markets for Canadian Oil

There is another area where we would like to see a strengthening of the bridges that join our two countries. Earlier in my remarks I referred to the large amount of foreign capital invested in the Canadian oil industry and the important contribution which this capital, accompanied by technical know-how and market connections, has made to its establishment and growth. Oil production on a significant scale is a comparatively recent phenomenon in Canada. Following upon the spectacular discoveries of oil in Western Canada a little more than a decade ago, many billions of dollars have been invested in oil exploration and development, in producing wells,



refineries, pipe lines and a wide range of supporting facilities. A very high proportion of the capital required in the oil industry has come from the United States and many of your large oil companies are leaders in the Canadian oil industry. At the present time, United States investors have a stake well in excess of \$3 billion in Canadian oil. Indeed, about half the total United States direct capital investment in Canada since 1950 has been concentrated in Canadian petroleum. For this reason alone - not to mention such considerations as common defence interests, as a result of which the oil pipe line from Northern Alberta and British Columbia to the Puget Sound area was built - the health and prosperity of the Canadian oil industry are of direct and substantial concern to the United States.

I should like to say a few words to you today on the subject of oil because, as some of you may know, the Government of Canada has recently announced a new national policy affecting this important industry. Canadian policy in relation to oil has traditionally been free of governmental control and regulation. In this field, as in others, we have been guided by the basic principle that private enterprise, pursuing its best interests in response to normal market forces, would foster a vigorous, healthy industry, growing in response to our own expanding economy and the needs of our natural export markets.

Canada is both an importer and an exporter of oil and petroleum products, although our imports vastly exceed our exports. Our markets in Eastern Canada absorb more than \$450 million of crude oil and product importations (translated into United States terms, this would correspond to imports into your country of more than \$10 billion per annum). About four-fifths of this total consists of crude oil which is processed in our large Eastern refineries, largely concentrated in Montreal. We import in excess of \$75 million a year from the United States, mainly petroleum products. Unlike the situation in the United States, we impose no quantitative controls whatever on the importation of oil and petroleum products. Crude enters duty-free and the tariff rates on products are quite moderate. Exports, at the rate of about \$100 million a year, consist almost entirely of crude oil. This oil moves overland by pipe line to oil-deficient areas in the United States lying adjacent to the international boundary. Your imports of Canadian crude make up about one per cent of your total demand and 11 per cent of crude imports from all countries.

### State of Oil Industry

In recent years there has been a good deal of concern and disappointment with the state of the oil industry in Canada. The matter has been reported on by a Royal Commission and more recently our National Energy Board conducted an intensive study of the situation. The Canadian Government could not fail to be impressed by the results of these studies. They showed that





output was unduly low in relation to productive capacity, to domestic demand and, more important, to the levels of output required to meet sound economic criteria. Exploration and development activities, which are so fundamental to the future growth of the industry, have been falling off sharply. There are disturbing indications that oil production in Canada is being determined not so much by normal market forces or by conditions in our own country as by the influence of outside forces brought to bear on the production and marketing decisions of the oil companies operating in Canada.

In view of these findings we came to the conclusion that the Canadian oil industry would not achieve a satisfactory level of output and an adequate rate of exploration and development unless the Government intervened to offset the inhibiting external influences. Accordingly, the Government decided upon a national oil policy looking to the gradual expansion of oil production and a more satisfactory pace of exploration and development.

#### Aim of New Policy

The objective of this policy is to reach a level of output of approximately 800,000 barrels a day in 1963, and to move progressively to that target by gradual stages. During the past year the average daily production was about 550,000 barrels a day. We believe that the established target is realistic and based on estimates of what can be achieved in conformity with sound economic principles. I stress this point because I wish to make it entirely clear that the Canadian Government is not applying forced draft to stimulate artificial growth of the industry. We expect to reach our targets by fostering the greater use of Canadian oil in our own domestic markets in Ontario and by a modest and gradual expansion of exports to existing markets in the West and the mid-West regions of the United States lying adjacent to the international boundary. Expansion in both these directions can be attained entirely through established pipe lines.

I shall outline the methods to be used in implementing this policy. Various approaches have been suggested from time to time, most of them involving some measure of governmental intervention. The Government has been urged to reserve the Eastern markets now being served by imports for our own producers in Western Canada through a system of mandatory import controls and the construction of a pipe line from the oil fields of Alberta to the rich Montreal market. We were often reminded of the restrictive policies pursued in other countries.

We decided that of the various alternatives available, the most satisfactory method would be to endeavour to reach our objectives on the basis of a voluntary programme by the Canadian oil industry itself. This approach, we believe, has much to



recommend it from the point of view of all interested parties both in Canada and abroad, not least of all the United States and our other trading partners.

### Need for Co-operation

To succeed along this path we will need a sincere effort and the full co-operation of all segments of the Canadian industry, particularly from the large international oil companies with subsidiaries in Canada, many of which are owned in the United States. We will make every effort to achieve our goals with a minimum of government intervention, consistent always with the success of our programme, which we regard as imperative. We are hopeful that this co-operation will be forthcoming in the full measure required and that it will not become necessary to fall back on a mandatory system of government controls.

Let me assure you that we have approached this programme with no fixed views or inflexible attitudes. There is only one respect in which our views are entirely firm. We are determined to make this programme work.

In formulating our national policy we have taken into account as fully as possible the position of our trading partners whose interests may be affected. We believe that the voluntary system is designed to reach our objectives with a minimum of interference in established trading patterns.

The voluntary programme entails a progressive enlargement of the share of the Ontario market served by Western crude and this will mean some modest displacement of oil imported from the Middle East and Venezuela. This development would be entirely consistent with the declared policy of the Venezuelan Government, which considers that its oil should not penetrate regions in the Canadian interior. This programme also involves a modest and gradual increase in exports to existing oil-deficient markets in the United States West and middle-West. We believe that this modest increase, from about one per cent to 2 per cent of your total oil consumption, would be entirely consistent with the encouragement given to Canadian production and to the building of a pipe line to the Puget Sound area by the United States at the time of the Korean War and the enlargement contemplated when arrangements were made on strategic grounds for the exemption of Canadian oil from the United States import controls in the spring of 1959. The attainment of our objectives will, we believe, foster a healthy and vigorous petroleum industry, which is so vital to the long-term economic and strategic interests of Canada as well as those of the United States.





## Trade With Cuba

There is one last subject on which I should like to say a few words, since there has been so much misunderstanding about it. I refer to the matter of Canadian trade with Cuba.

Let there be no misunderstanding about our policy. We have no intention of allowing Canada to be used as a backdoor to frustrate the effect of the trade controls now being exercised by the United States. First, no commodity of United States origin may be exported from Canada to Cuba unless it is of a kind which may still be exported direct from the United States to Cuba. There is therefore no basis whatsoever for the fears which have been voiced that Canada's trade with Cuba will provide for a backdoor evasion of the United States embargo. Second, we have not authorized for export from Canada to Cuba any shipment of arms, ammunitions, military and related equipment or materials of a clearly strategic nature. This is in keeping with our policy of refraining from the export of such goods to areas of tension anywhere in the world. Third, a tight control is exercised on the export of goods such as aircraft engines which may in certain circumstances have strategic significance. The circumstances of each case determine whether the export of goods should be given an export permit. The fourth feature of our policy is that there are no restrictions on the export to Cuba of Canadian goods of a non-strategic nature.

It is quite important that this peaceful trade should also be seen in perspective. No other country, including each of the NATO allies such as the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Norway, has taken any action to impose a trade embargo similar to that of the United States. Cuba has been a traditional market for certain Canadian food exports and the United States itself has continued to ship livestock, food and drugs to Cuba and in much greater volume than the total of all exports from Canada. Since the United States embargo was imposed, Canadian trade with Cuba shows no evidence of any dramatic increase in the volume of trade. Our total exports to Cuba in 1960 were only \$13 million, which was less than the figure for 1959.

I offer these remarks to make it abundantly clear that there is no basis for the fear expressed in some United States newspapers that Canada's chief concern in its relations with Cuba has been to make a quick commercial profit at the expense of the United States. Canada is offering no special inducements or incentives on exports to Cuba and no loans or other special financial arrangements are being considered.

Apart from these commercial and economic considerations, there are of course important political and international factors which must not be overlooked. The Canadian Government is by no



means complacent about the situation in the Carribean. Our position in NATO in the United Nations and elsewhere does, I think, make it clear where we stand in the world. However, our experience in our relations with Cuba has been different from that of the United States. Just as we respect the right of the United States Government to determine its own policies towards Cuba, we know that the United States will respect our right to reach our own decisions on such matters.

### Conclusion

At the outset I spoke of the freedom with which Canadians and Americans can discuss together their problems and difficulties. This is a boon of friendship and a benefit of neighbourliness. In all things we must preserve a sense of proportion. Such differences of approach as arise from time to time between our two countries are dust in the scale in comparison with those great values, aspirations and interests which we hold in common.

We are allies together in the defence of Western freedom; we are upholders together of the cause of freedom, decency, humanity and good faith in dealings between nations. We are striving shoulder-to-shoulder to build a better world not only for our own people but for all mankind. Together we have learned to accept the implications of a shrinking world and the common responsibilities cast by destiny upon us.

Where in all the world do you find the governments of two adjoining countries forming joint committees of both governments? For the past three and one-half years I have had the privilege of being a member of the Joint Canada-United States Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. From its establishment in 1958 I have been similarly a member of the Canada-United States Joint Committee on Defence. Through these channels we speak to each other at the government level with utmost frankness, but we never lose sight of the fact that we have and serve interests that are fundamentally common. I am sure we shall continue to do so.

Canadians are very proud of their independence; they are jealous of their sovereignty; they are a self-reliant people. Our decisions are our own, but let there be no doubt that for our American neighbours we cherish and will ever maintain an abiding friendship that befits the best neighbours in all the world.







CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 61/3

## A MAJOR TEST FOR THE COMMONWEALTH

A statement in the House of Commons on March 17, 1961, by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker.

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..... My primary purpose in rising today is to bring before the House something of the events of the last two weeks. The meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers began in London on March 8 and, as the House knows, I was accompanied there by the Minister of Justice and the Secretary of State, and was assisted during the Conference by the High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Hon. George Drew.

The Prime Ministers' Conference is a most unusual convocation. We sit around a small table with practically all the races of man and five of the leading religions, Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Mohammedan, represented there. While during the discussions there are always disagreements in detail, there is that feeling that came to me as I visited the Commonwealth countries in Asia and Australia and New Zealand some years ago, a feeling that defies explanation or understanding. It is just impossible to believe that any of the members of the Commonwealth could ever be at war with one another.

### Disturbing Elements

We met in an international setting not as dark as in May 1960, when the last meeting was held, but there are disturbing elements. While the Soviet campaign of vilification against Washington has subsided, and this is encouraging, there has been no sign of restraint in other ways by the Soviet leaders. They have relentlessly pursued Communist aims in countries as far apart as Congo and Laos. I am not going to deal today with the Congo, except to say that there the United Nations is on trial, and if it does not succeed in restoring law and order in that country the hopes and aspirations of mankind with respect to that institution may very well be diminished.

While all of us know the situation in Laos, those who live in Asia regard it as fraught with terrible danger.



The Soviets have maintained with increasing vigour their assault on the United Nations and also on the Secretary General. Notwithstanding smiles toward Washington, there is much evidence that the Soviet Union is not preparing genuinely for a period of calm and conciliation.

Everywhere over that Conference came the shadow of Communist China, the leaders of which country show an even greater thirst for domination and influence in the uncommitted world than does the Soviet Union. The Prime Ministers were acutely conscious of these uncertainties and dangers. We dealt at some length with the current international situation, and I will deal with that on another occasion.

### Momentous Change

What I intend to do today is mainly to emphasize the momentous change that took place in the future relationship of the Union of South Africa with the Commonwealth. Some may say this is being emotional, but my mind goes back to February 1917, when for the first time I had an idea of what this Commonwealth might be. The expression was not in general use at that time, although it had been originally used some 25 years prior to that date. I saw the King going to open Parliament in the darkest days of the war escorted by three or four troops of Boer cavalry, all of whom had served against Britain only a matter of 14 or 15 years before. All of us saw, too, the contribution made by the Union of South Africa in two World Wars.

Even before the meeting it was very clear that this would be the focus of general attention. I do not think it is an overstatement to say that in the long history of these Commonwealth or Empire meetings -- we have had ten since the war -- no issue so severely strained or tested the flexible bonds of the Commonwealth association as did the one which faced this Conference.

You will recall that South Africa first raised the question of its future relationship with the Commonwealth at the meeting of the Prime Ministers in May, 1960. The Foreign Minister of that Union gave notice of the intention of his country to hold a referendum on the question of whether South Africa should adopt a republican form of government. At the same time he asked for advance approval of its continuance of membership, or readmission to the Commonwealth. At that time we gave to this problem a two-fold reaction; the Prime Ministers affirmed that the choice between a monarchy and a republic was entirely a matter for South Africa to decide, but they also agreed unanimously, and I intend to read this because it represented a change in the Commonwealth relationship which had previously existed --

"In the event of South Africa deciding to become a republic and if the desire was subsequently expressed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, the meeting suggested that the South African Government should then ask for the consent of the other





Commonwealth governments, either at a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or, if this were not practicable, by correspondence.

### Not Automatic

On October 5, 1960, South Africa's choice was made by a referendum which resulted in a majority favouring the adoption of a republic. Subsequently, the Government of that country announced that a republican constitution would be proclaimed on May 31. I felt and still feel that we had made it clear last May that there was no automaticity about the application of a country which was a member of the Commonwealth and which changed its form of government to that of a republic; and that until the legislative processes had been completed the decision had not finally been made.

That view did not command general support. I should point out here that the first reading of the bill to set up a republic was given in the South African House of Representatives on January 23, that second reading was given on February 9 and that then the bill was referred to a select joint committee of both Houses, the committee to report to Parliament on March 24. Hence the matter is still before the Parliament of South Africa.

What in effect was being asked was advance approval prior to the final legislative decision being made; something that was denied last May. The wording of the communiqué in May 1960 reflected the general view of the Prime Ministers that a positive act of concurrence was required on the part of each of the other member governments if South Africa's request for consent to remain a member of the Commonwealth was to be granted. It was agreed by the Foreign Minister of South Africa that all governments would have to consent; at least that was the statement he made in May last. It was argued that, even in the face of the wording of the communiqué last May, it was still a virtual formality for countries applying for continuance of membership to remain as members. I think it was the consensus of a majority if not all of the Prime Ministers that more than a formality was involved.

### South African Case

Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, relied throughout on the argument that the constitutional issue should be dealt with separately, and that on the basis of the precedents there should be no question of South Africa's right to continuing membership. The discussion took a long time. All agreed that South Africa's constitutional change was not in itself an obstacle to continuing membership, but the view was strongly held that the question of membership could not be divorced from the international implications of the Union Government's racial policies. Apartheid has become the world's symbol of discrimination; and in the eyes of the Prime Ministers present, other than Dr. Verwoerd, to give unqualified consent to South Africa's application would be to condone the policies of apartheid.





That was the core of the issue which engaged our attention for three days. It was, I have been told, a discussion without parallel in the annals of the Commonwealth association. It is a great organization where men -- and a woman this time, the Prime Minister of Ceylon -- with strong convictions, can sit down together and yet not speak to one another at any time with bitterness, virulence or in the manner described in some of the articles written by persons who must have secured their information from sources not present at the meeting.

### Principled Compassion

I said, and I repeat, that it was a time for the exercise of the utmost compassion, and I have no apology to offer for that. That does not mean an acceptance of what is wrong; and I have found through life that if you follow that course you do not too often have to look back on events and say: "If only I had acted otherwise". Compassion does not mean sacrifice of principle. It is based on a seriousness of purpose and a desire for accommodation. Though viewpoints were diametrically opposed, there was a determination to explore every possibility of a solution. If that attitude had not been followed the meeting might well have ended in an angry outburst of mutual recrimination.

Last night at the hour of 11.30 there were gathered in London the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth -- and South Africa is still a member of the Commonwealth -- and you could not have detected there the tremendous effect of what had taken place a few hours earlier.

We tried to do whatever was humanly possible to avoid a break without making a sacrifice of basic principles. South Africa sought consent on the ground that continued membership was a virtual formality. I took the position that if we were to accept South Africa's request unconditionally our action would be taken as approval, or at least condonation, of racial policies which are repugnant to and unequivocally abhorred and condemned by Canadians as a whole. Speaking for Canada -- and I do not have to say that this attitude represents no recent conversion -- I pointed out that we were opposed to racial discrimination, and made it clear that I could not approve any formula or solution which did not maintain beyond any doubt that non-discrimination in respect of race and colour is an essential principle of the Commonwealth association.

This was not a stand which was taken then and not before; I have followed that course over the years. All but the Prime Minister of South Africa were in agreement that no expression of consent to South Africa's continuing membership was possible without an expression of the strongest views on their part regarding apart-  
heid.

I shall not go into detail in this connection. We spent a long time on this. The general attitude we took was to





criticize strongly and deplore the racial policy of the Union Government and the anxiety which we felt it was arousing in the hearts and minds of millions of people throughout the world. We expressed our deep concern about its impact on the relations among the member countries of the Commonwealth and on the cohesion of the Commonwealth itself as a multiracial association. I took the stand then, and I have taken it before, that the United Nations answers to these principles, and that the Commonwealth cannot do less.

The Prime Minister of South Africa stressed strongly the positive aspect of the Union Government's policy. He deplored the accusations of racial discrimination and contended that the other Prime Ministers did not understand the situation as they should. As I have already said, there was a patient and exhaustive search for a formula which would encompass frank criticism of apartheid. Somebody said: "We do not want compromise". Well, the countries which feel discrimination most strongly, and which were the most outspoken critics, showed a desire and readiness at all times to come to agreement without sacrifice of principle, and I say in no bitter sense that there was no corresponding readiness on the part of Prime Minister Verwoerd. When I say that, I do not want Hon. Members to conclude that he was lacking in forbearance. He is a wonderful personality; he is a kindly burgher. In the face of strong and sometimes provocative criticism he maintained throughout an impressive courtesy and calm.

### Gulf Unbridgeable

Was there ever a prospect of a constructive outcome? There might have been. There was a time when discussions seemed to give promise of a mutually acceptable solution. Dr. Verwoerd seemed ready then to acquiesce in a formula which would have been coupled with a declaration of principle by the cumulative conscience of the other Prime Ministers. That formula might have been accepted. But as discussion proceeded the basis of the compromise dissolved and it was impossible to find language capable of bridging the gulf. Again I say this; it is a lesson to those in this House who sometimes speak about what they would do if they were there. Those who belonged to non-white races showed an attitude of endeavouring to bring about some compromise.

When that hope ended, criticism continued. With some evident regret and without any advance notice -- although he read from a document which I observed was somewhat dog-eared -- Dr. Verwoerd formally withdrew South Africa's request to continue membership. In the tense drama of that moment little remained to be said. The true depth of the cleavage between him and the things he represented and the other members of the Commonwealth was revealed, stretching to the breaking point the will to bridge it.





### Traditional Ties Remain

As I said a moment ago, South Africa remains a member of the Commonwealth until May 31. Dr. Verwoerd made it clear that traditional ties with the Commonwealth countries will continue. It is difficult to convey the picture of only a matter of 12 or 15 hours ago, when we were together as guests of the Queen and when such a change came about with so little apparent ill feeling.

Was the result unavoidable? I think it was. Over the years I have contended that in a multiracial association it had to become clear beyond doubt that, if the Commonwealth is to be a force for good, as it should be, there must be a measure of general agreement that discrimination in respect of race and colour shall not take place. I do not think we can compromise that principle if we believe that the Commonwealth has a mission for all mankind. It would lose its power to meet challenges and opportunities in the future. I am more convinced than ever as to the power of this institution touching every part of the world.

I am not going to deal today with the conclusions of disarmament, but I think the discussions on that subject brought about a new relationship among the members of the Commonwealth; but not an institutionalization, or anything that would interfere with the sovereignty of any of us. The influence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya joined with the other members of the Commonwealth on a subject that has divided the United Nations and on which there has not been that progress that the Secretary of State for External Affairs would have hoped for, represents a major step, as indicated in the appendix on disarmament, toward a realization that only through action now can we save mankind from ultimate self-destruction.

### Effect on Commonwealth

The question naturally arises, has the Commonwealth been weakened? Dr. Verwoerd says it is the beginning of disintegration. There are some who view with apprehension the shifting composition of the association. It is a strange thing, but out goes Verwoerd and in comes Archbishop Makarios to represent Cyprus. Sierra Leone was accepted, and other countries will be making application to join within the next year or so. The close intimacy of the days when the present Leader of the Opposition was Secretary of State for External Affairs, with a few members gathered about, is ended.

There are those who see South Africa's decision as the forerunner of further withdrawals as a result of campaigns of criticism related to national policy. In that connection I should point out this. All of us agreed that no national policy of any country should be examined or considered without the consent of that country. Dr. Verwoerd himself undertook the explanation of the policies of his country.





I do not minimize the risks inherent in the emerging trends. The task before the Commonwealth is to reduce the risks by building firmly on new foundations. What has happened might be epitomized thus. We have declared that non-discrimination on the basis of race and colour is the foundation stone of a multi-racial association composed of representatives from all parts of the world. No foundation could be broader or more solidly based than the fundamental principle which, though unwritten, has emerged from this meeting.

I have advocated in the past and I continue to advocate a declaration of principles. When I spoke in the House on May 16 last, I referred to the possibility that the time might not be far distant when acceptance by custom rather than by the declaration of certain basic principles, including the equality of all mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed, would be assured. No document was signed on this occasion, but that does not diminish the importance of what happened. I reiterate that we accepted the basic principle and established it as a Commonwealth custom for the future. This is the bedrock of the modern Commonwealth, the assurance as I see it of a stronger Commonwealth in the future.

#### Mood of Africans

You will have noted that shortly before the meeting began the Chief Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius Nyerere, published an arresting statement in which it was said that in so far as Tanganyika was concerned there would be no question of applying for membership in the Commonwealth if discrimination were condoned. That statement and others by African leaders in territories shortly to achieve independence foreshadowed the course and the promise of the future.

There will be some who will say, and they will speak with great energy, that we should have pressed for the expulsion of South Africa. I remind those who speak in that vein that Ghana, Nigeria, India, Pakistan, Malaya and Ceylon did not follow that course. I think the fact that this break had to come and that South Africa should have withdrawn its application was the best course that could be followed. It provided a clearer opportunity of registering the principle of non-discrimination; for the Prime Ministers would not have been satisfied with less.

As the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said yesterday in the British House of Commons, I regret that South Africa made this choice instead of adopting the attitude of a reasonable acceptance of a primary fact in the world in which we live.



I have seen the Commonwealth in a different light than ever before. We took the course that anyone who recognizes the fact that Communism marches on the application of discrimination, wherever it is practised, must take. I shall detour a moment to tell Hon. Members that, in the midst of the argument the day before yesterday, Dr. Nkrumah handed me a clipping regarding the denial of admission of two negroes to a hotel in the city of Edmonton. I do not think I have to make any further observation in that connection....

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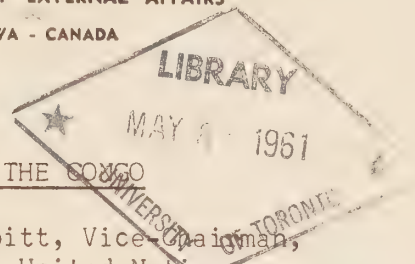






# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 61/4

## THE SITUATION IN THE CONGO

Statement by Mr. W.B. Nesbitt, Vice-Chairman,  
Canadian Delegation to the United Nations,  
in the General Assembly, April 4, 1961.

... When this Assembly adjourned three months ago, it was in an atmosphere of deep concern over the course of events in the Congo. There is no need for me to review the developments of the intervening period. Some have been tragic. Some have been profoundly disquieting in their implications. Few have given much ground for satisfaction or for optimism. If there is one encouraging sign to be found, it is perhaps the evidence there has been in this debate of widespread concern to find a real and lasting solution to the problems which beset the Congo. Encouragement can be found in this fact, I believe, even though we cannot ignore, at the same time, the evidence of deep and fundamental disagreement over the direction in which any solution should be sought.

There is not, of course, just one single Congo problem. There are at least three Congo problems, and in one of these, I am happy to say, the United Nations and its Agencies, with help from governments and other outside sources, have been outstandingly successful, and have earned the whole-hearted appreciation of the Congolese authorities. This is the whole field of social, economic and technical matters in which the United Nations civilian operations in the Congo have been functioning quietly and efficiently: bringing emergency relief, combatting famine conditions, assisting medical and health services, helping to restore communications, and co-operating in a wide variety of other technical and administrative fields. In our concern with the more intractable aspects of the Congo problem we must not lose sight of these successes, or fail to pay tribute to the devoted and unselfish efforts which have made them possible.

The other two main Congo problems are what might be called in general terms the military problem, and the political problem. Both present unusual features, so far as the United Nations is concerned, largely because of the fact that "The Situation in the Republic of the Congo" - as it appears on the Assembly's agenda - is to an important extent the internal problem of a sovereign state. The United Nations, with its strong awareness - written clearly into the Charter - of the limitations which apply when matters of domestic jurisdiction are involved, has had no previous experience with exactly this type of problem. No such situation was envisaged, indeed, when the Charter was drafted.



### Value of UN Presence

Yet the involvement of the United Nations in the Congo was unquestionably right, and perhaps inevitable. The conflict which had broken out in the Congo was internal, but outside intervention was already a fact and the very real possibility of major international conflict growing out of the Congo situation was evident to all. Negative successes are difficult to document, but it is a fact that the United Nations has contained, though not yet eliminated, outside intervention and that international hostilities have not broken out over the Congo. It is not unreasonable to suppose, at the least, that the involvement of the United Nations and the physical presence of United Nations forces in the Congo have been a factor in keeping the peace internationally. More remains to be done, of course. My Delegation urges all member states concerned to comply with the terms of the Security Council resolution of February 21 and previous resolutions. Only if this is done will the Congolese people be free to settle their own problems.

Even at the outset, the military role of the United Nations was not solely a matter of dealing with outside intervention or of helping to prevent international conflict. From the start there was a concurrent role of technical and direct assistance to the Congolese government and armed forces. This was broadened, through subsequent mandates from the General Assembly and the Security Council and in recognition of the increasing degree of confusion and conflict in the Congo, until, under the Security Council resolution of February 21, the United Nations forces have a definite role, as well, in the prevention, halting and containment of civil war. At the same time, they remain under the clearest instructions not to be a party to, or to seek to influence the outcome of, any internal conflict; they are, in other words, to be completely impartial.

### Violence Must be Ended

It would be difficult to argue that measures to bring an end to violence and bloodshed, to prevent or to contain civil strife, are not an essential concomitant to any successful programme for dealing with the two other Congo problems: the problem of needed civil assistance and the problem of a political solution. It can even be maintained, I believe, that they are vital to the other aspects of the military problem, for unrestrained civil strife constitutes an open invitation to outside intervention, and carries with it the possibility of international conflict. Yet for all their justification, it is in these respects that the United Nations operation is breaking new ground. Perhaps it is not surprising that it is here also that it has encountered the most serious difficulties and has met with the strongest criticism.

I do not propose to discuss these difficulties in any detail. For one thing, I do not believe that their solution will be hastened, at this juncture, by making them the subject of partisan debate. They can only be solved by the slow and unspectacular processes of patient negotiation and conciliation undertaken with goodwill and good faith. For what they have already done in trying circumstances, my country pays wholehearted tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff, and to the Supreme Commander, the officers and the men of all nations serving in the United Nations forces in the Congo.





### Harassment of UN Personnel

There is one point upon which I must touch, however, and that is the regrettable circumstance whereby individual members and units of the United Nations force in the Congo have all too frequently found themselves in conflict with the forces they had come to the Congo to help. Sometimes these incidents have taken the form of obstruction or harassment of individuals or small units by clearly undisciplined groups of Congolese soldiers. On other occasions, as in the recent incidents at Banana and Matadi, what has happened has been, to some extent at least, a matter of deliberate policy and direction.

It is difficult for me, as a Canadian, to take a detached view of these matters. Canada's contribution to the United Nations forces in the Congo is small in terms of total numbers, but this fact does not make the life or the welfare of any one of these men a matter of any less concern to the Canadian Government and the Canadian people. It is not an easy thing to see these individuals endangered or humiliated, in what can only seem to be a completely pointless manner. In addition to Canada's understandable concern about its own forces, the incidents to which I have referred have grave implications for the United Nations as a whole. What is at stake here is not some obscure point of interpretation, but the fundamental meaning and dignity of the United Nations organization and the personal safety of its representatives in the Congo. It is Canada's view that a most unequivocal stand in this regard must be taken by the United Nations and that it must be unreservedly supported by all the members of this body.

Our strong view on this matter of adequate security for United Nations personnel in no way detracts from our recognition of limitations governing the use of force by United Nations troops in seeking to prevent violence and civil war as provided for in the Security Council resolution of February 21. This is an entirely different matter. Clearly, the United Nations is not a party to the conflict in the Congo, nor is it pitted against any faction there. It must by its mandate, as I have already noted, be impartial. It can employ force, under its mandate from the Security Council, but only as a last resort. This qualification must be taken to mean precisely what it says and must be applied in each case according to the circumstances. For the rest, the United Nations must make its best endeavour to bring about an appropriate understanding of its aims and objectives in the Congo, and to eliminate the misunderstandings which have been a tragic source of trouble in the past. My Delegation has urged repeatedly in the appropriate quarters, and urges once more, that these efforts be vigorously pursued.

### Attacks on Secretary-General

I have said that it is difficult for countries and governments to take a dispassionate view when the dignity, the safety, and even the lives of their nationals seem to be being placed pointlessly in jeopardy. It is almost equally difficult to be forced to watch while the complex and painful problems which I have described are cynically used, by some, to mount a vicious attack against the fabric of the United Nations and against its dedicated Secretary-General. I can only say that it has bolstered my country's confidence in the soundness of the United Nations that this cynical attempt to exploit the tragedy of the Congo for extraneous and unworthy purposes has met with so little positive response.



I shall wish to revert to the military aspects of the Congo problem in another context before I close, but I should now like to turn to the third type of problem I mentioned earlier - the political problem. Here we encounter a fundamental dilemma.

We can all agree, I think, that the ultimate achievement of a political solution in the Congo is basic to the final success of the United Nations intervention. For whatever may be done - in implementation of General Assembly or Security Council directives - to contain the threat to international peace and security and to restore order, and whatever may be done by other agencies of the United Nations to deal with the many other tragic problems which beset the Congo, these can be no more than stop-gap measures in the absence of a real and lasting political settlement. Conversely, it cannot but be recognized that a clear-cut political solution would do more than anything else to remove the threat to international peace and security, and to hasten the solution of the other problems I have mentioned.

#### No Imposed Political Settlement

But - and here is the dilemma - it has been clearly recognized that a political solution, with agreement on the constitutional and legal forms which should prevail in the Congo, must of necessity (and quite properly) be matters for the Congolese people alone to decide. Stated in its simplest terms, a political solution is vital to the United Nations, but the United Nations cannot intervene to achieve a political solution.

I am well aware that, while lip-service is paid to a policy of "hands-off-Congo politics", many if not most states represented here today have their own ideas of what the solution should be - ideas which usually correspond to those of one or another of the contending factions in the Congo itself - and they are not above doing what they can, internationally, to foster the solutions they favour. This is a subtle kind of intervention in the internal affairs of the Congo - and a sort of interference which unfortunately no United Nations operation can prevent.

Yet, oddly enough, for this very reason, it remains true that the United Nations could not - even if it wished - impose a political solution on the Congo, for there could never be agreement on the solution to impose. Differences of opinion, reflecting to some extent the basic ideological and other differences with which we are all too familiar in the United Nations, would always prevent such agreement. No proposed solution for the Congo, no faction in its internal political conflict, can win an absolute majority of support here.

What is perhaps worse is that the divisions here to a considerable extent inhibit the reaching of a solution there. It must already have been remarked in the Congo that, although we insist here that the Congolese should settle their own political differences, there is no corresponding enthusiasm - there may, indeed, be outright condemnation - when some of the political leaders in the Congo get together and do in fact attempt to settle some of their political differences.





This is a deplorable situation, and it prompts me to ask very seriously indeed: Is the United Nations incapable of assisting the Republic of the Congo to find a solution to its political problems? Must we perpetuate, in that unhappy country, the differences which plague us here?

#### Essential Condition of Success

This need not be so, I believe - but on one condition. This condition is that we admit the truth of what I have just been saying - that none of us can hope to win majority support here for the particular type of solution he favours for the Congo, or majority acceptance of the particular Congolese leader or faction he indorses. Once this is admitted, I believe that the United Nations can in fact leave the Congolese people to settle their own political problems - can even give them impartial and constructive assistance to that end.

It is clear that the United Nations cannot, and should not, remain indefinitely in the Congo. Perhaps it is not too early, therefore, to ask ourselves what minimum conditions of order, stability and security should be met before the task of the United Nations forces there can be completed. Looking forward to that day, we should be prepared to admit that the situation which the United Nations will leave in the Congo may be less than perfect. But is this so surprising? How many of us would claim that political conditions in our own country are ideal? Given their slender preparation and their underlying problems, should we expect more of the Congolese?

#### Contribution of Conciliation Commission

It is apt to be forgotten, I think, that one important effort has already been made in the direction of a political settlement. The Conciliation Commission was not - despite its commendable achievement in this field - primarily a fact-finding commission. The first task of the Conciliation Commission was to conciliate. It would appear, moreover, that it came very close to succeeding - I have in mind, particularly, the statement on this point by the distinguished representative of Ghana in his observations in Annex XX of the Commission's report. The Commission has, moreover, indicated a variety of ways in which the United Nations could assist the Congolese people to find a solution, and I commend them to the Assembly's attention.

Most particularly, I would urge upon all member states the wisdom of abandoning the sterile sort of dispute which seeks to discredit all but one or another favoured faction in the Congo on the grounds that the others have no valid claim to legality or constitutionality. The view of my Delegation is that legality and constitutionality have for so long been disregarded in the Congo that no faction is immune from this type of attack. This is not intended as criticism of any of the de facto authorities in the Congo. A wise Asian colleague in the Advisory Committee has remarked that legality is not apt to be a feature of revolutionary situations, and this is very true. At the same time I would urge the authorities in the Congo to return to legality and constitutionality in their actions as rapidly as possible. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the Conciliation Commission's recommendations in this connection, because this seems to me to be the best way, and possibly the only way, in which the views of the real sovereign authority - the Congolese people themselves - can be adequately taken into account.



## Practical Co-operation

It has been generally recognized that it is of crucial importance to the United Nations effort in the Congo that there should be a legal and effective Congolese Government for it to deal with, and I have suggested measures which might help towards the achievement of this objective. In the meantime there is, in Canada's opinion, a considerable field for constructive co-operation between the United Nations authorities and the de facto authorities in the Congo. My Delegation urges that this area of practical co-operation be widened in every way possible.

Before leaving this general subject of the role of the United Nations in the Congo and the relations between the world organization and the Congolese, I should like to re-state Canada's conception of the essential nature and purpose of United Nations involvement in the Congo. In our view, the fundamental objective of the United Nations effort is to help the Congolese people to solve their problems themselves. Whether in vital first steps to restore public order, or in the formulation of more substantive measures for a return to constitutional procedures or, when these initial problems are overcome, in bringing to bear all the varied resources of the United Nations in re-building the economy and administrative services of the country, the United Nations can assist the Congo effectively only in co-operation with the Congolese. The United Nations should not seek to impose solutions to the problems of the Congo.

## Congolese Must Understand UN Aims

It is relevant to observe that the objectives of the United Nations operation in the Congo have apparently not been fully understood by the Congolese people, nor indeed - and this is more important - appreciated by the majority of Congolese leaders. Efforts are being made to correct this situation. But since the success of the United Nations' efforts in the Congo must depend on working with the understanding and support of the Congolese, this should be one of the most urgent and important tasks of the United Nations representatives in the Congo.

... I have described the problems facing the United Nations in providing civil assistance to the Congo, in dealing with the various military questions which have arisen, and in fostering a political settlement. I have spoken of the successes achieved, of the difficulties faced - many of them new in United Nations experience - and I have suggested various ways in which, in my Delegation's view, we might profitably proceed in the future. I have not laid much stress on what is at stake for the United Nations in the Congo, because I think there is no lack of awareness of it. What is at stake, of course, is nothing less than the continued ability of the United Nations to take effective action in cases of threats to peace and security. This awareness is indicated, among many other ways, by the response to the Secretary-General's recent appeal for additional troops to serve with the United Nations in the Congo. In this regard, I should like to pay special tribute to the Government of India for its action in making available very substantial numbers of troops at a critical juncture.





### Canada on Advisory Committee

For Canada's part we have attempted throughout the course of the United Nations involvement in the Congo to provide what assistance we can in the most appropriate manner open to us, in the form of technicians, emergency food supplies and medical aid. Because of Canada's contribution of non-combatant military personnel serving in the Congo, Canada has had a place on the Secretary-General's Advisory Committee. It has always been our intention to play what I might call a non-combatant role in that context as well. But without violating the confidential nature of the deliberations of the Committee, I think I can say, ... that we have found it to be for the most part not only a non-combatant committee but a thoroughly hard-working and constructive one.

### Broad Financial Implications

I should now like to turn for a moment to some of the broad financial implications for the United Nations of operations such as that now being carried on in the Congo. The years since San Francisco have seen this organization assume increasingly extensive functions and responsibilities, in the economic and social as well as in the political fields. Step by step with this development, which all of us must welcome, the financial resources required have also swelled to magnitudes not contemplated in 1945. The regular annual budget for the United Nations alone already stands at some \$73 million. Quite apart from the resources made available to the International Bank, the International Development Association, and the International Monetary Fund, the total annual contributions to the United Nations Specialized Agencies, the Expanded Programme, and the Special Fund now total approximately \$250 million. To the strain of these commitments have been added in recent years the heavy demands of peace-keeping activities. These last, I need hardly add, lie close to the heart of the United Nations concept, and appear in the Charter as the first of the co-operative purposes which must guide us in the implementation of our responsibilities.

The United Nations in the Congo is the most complex and costly peace-keeping operation ever undertaken by this organization, and it has placed an unprecedented burden on the already strained financial resources available to the United Nations. So far, the operation has not been placed on a firm financial footing and temporary measures have had to be employed to obtain the necessary finances. These have involved heavy borrowing from the Working Capital Fund and from the reserves of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme. The result has been what is unquestionably the most critical financial crisis the organization has ever had to face.

In these circumstances, the Assembly's attention must be directed urgently to reaching a decision, on the estimates submitted for the Congo operation in 1961, which will ensure the continued financial health of the organization, and ensure also that its vital peace-keeping activities will not be jeopardized simply for want of the necessary financial means. To put it more bluntly, the question is whether the Congo operation will be allowed to succeed - whether, in other words, the organization is prepared to provide the financial resources required to implement its own decisions.



### Political Context of Problem

The extreme gravity of the situation which will face the United Nations if no suitable solution to the financial problem is found, and found quickly, will be immediately apparent when viewed in the political context in which the Congo situation has evolved, a context which I have already described. Quite apart from its other novel aspects, the Congo operation represents a further advance in United Nations efforts to develop effective machinery to keep the peace, when the great powers, which are charged with this responsibility, are unable to reach agreement. If this machinery is to continue to be available in the service of international peace, this Assembly must make adequate financial provision for it. A failure to do so at this critical juncture would not only run dangerous risks for the Congo, but would place in jeopardy the ability of this organization to take effective action in other situations in the future in fulfilment of its peace-keeping responsibilities. Of particular significance is the fact that financial instability could also jeopardize the ability of the organization to maintain the pace of its vital economic and technical assistance programmes. All aspects of the organization's work are therefore threatened.

These thoughts should be before us as we consider the costs of the Congo operation. I do not minimize the difficulties which members will face in meeting the financial commitments which this operation makes on them. My Delegation recognizes that the burden will be particularly onerous for those members in the process of developing their economies, many of whom are themselves receiving international assistance in one form or another. Nevertheless, we believe it is important that the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations should continue to be regarded as a collective responsibility requiring that each member bear his fair share. The principle which must be maintained is that the collective benefits we all reap from the existence of a strong and effective United Nations lay upon all of us a collective duty to take up loyally the responsibilities - in political, military and financial terms - which our membership entails.

... There is at issue here the future not only of the Congo but also of the United Nations. This challenge is for all members of the United Nations, large and small, to meet, but the middle and smaller powers have most at stake because they have most to lose if the United Nations fails. As has been truly said before in this Assembly, it is the middle and smaller powers, and especially those who have recently reached independence, which are the principal beneficiaries of a strong and sound United Nations. It is principally those powers which look to the United Nations for the defence of their independence and for disinterested economic and technical assistance. And it is to those powers that I appeal particularly to support the United Nations in this time of trial.

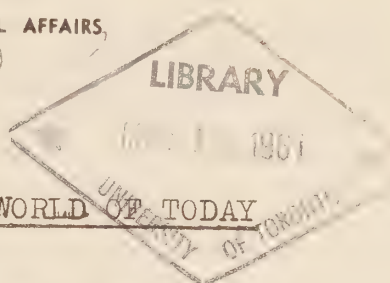






# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 61/5

## CANADIAN EFFORTS IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

Excerpts from a Statement by Mr. Howard Green,  
the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in  
the House of Commons on April 26, 1961.

... These are very stirring days in the field of external affairs. As all Members will realize, the dull moments are few and far between. Sometimes the news is bad and at other times it is good. Today I am sure we are all very pleased that the troubles through which our old friend and ally, the Republic of France, has been going during the last week-end, are over. News of the collapse last night of the insurgents in Algeria was received by the Canadian Government with the greatest relief.

According to the latest reports the situation is returning to normal and the French Government is now resuming full civilian and military control in Algiers.

President de Gaulle, the French Government, and indeed the entire French people deserve high praise for their firmness and courage in the face of a challenge which could have had incalculable consequences, not only for the future of Algeria but for France itself, and which would have posed very serious problems for the North Atlantic alliance. France has emerged from this test stronger than before, and I hope it will now be possible to proceed to a peaceful solution of the Algerian issue.

In this debate on external affairs it is my hope that as many Hon. Members as possible will participate. There are a great number of Members of this House who have had considerable experience in the field of foreign affairs. I need only refer to the large number who, down through the years, have rendered excellent service for Canada at the United Nations, either as delegates or as parliamentary observers. Another large group have gone abroad to attend meetings of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Still others have made a practice of attending the meetings of the NATO Parliamentary Organization. Another group have taken part in the meetings of the Interparliamentary Group, which consists of 24 members of the Canadian Senate and House of Commons and a similar



number from the United States Senate and House of Representatives. A few months ago Canadian Members of Parliament also attended meetings of the Interparliamentary Union. ...

... My officials, as well as myself, are hoping for some useful suggestions from the Members taking part in this debate. It cannot be gainsaid that an informed Canadian public opinion on foreign affairs is vital to the future greatness of our nation. This is one aspect of the whole picture which worries me, namely whether or not Canadian Members of Parliament, and the Canadian people generally, are following international affairs with sufficient care to give whatever Government happens to be in charge of the affairs of this country the backing required for Canada to play the part she can play in the world of today. Make no mistake, no country in April of 1961 has a greater opportunity to take a part and play a worthy role in world affairs than Canada...

Let me put it this way. No country has a greater responsibility. Let us stress the feature of responsibility in world affairs rather than opportunity.

#### United Nations

I go on, ... to give the House a picture of the world situation as I see it today. In the first place -- I think this is the most important factor -- we have a great world organization actually functioning today, and I refer to the United Nations. Some people scoff at the United Nations, but when you go to New York and see the representatives of 99 nations meeting in that great world body, and when you realize the speed of communications and the fact that world opinion is quickly focused on any vital issue that comes up anywhere in the world, you cannot help feeling that in the United Nations we have the greatest world organization there has ever been. It makes mistakes. The amazing thing is that it does not make a great many more, because of necessity the transactions must be of such a complicated nature. It would repay members to watch events there and to consider that while the United Nations seems to arrive at the edge of the precipice every so often, and while it might appear that in a few days' time the whole organization would blow up, that day never comes.

Just within the last week there was a serious crisis over the financing of the United Nations effort in the Congo. For a few hours that situation looked very serious; in fact one key resolution failed to carry during the last night of the sitting. If things had rested there the result might have been that the United Nations would have been forced to recall its troops from the Congo. But good judgment prevailed; consideration of the subject was adjourned for an hour or so and delegates went out into the lounge...





We cannot do that in the House of Commons; our rules and procedures are not quite so flexible. I do point out that this organization has gone through crisis after crisis, and I believe that it will continue to do so and that it will continue to grow, because without the United Nations our civilization would probably revert to savagery.

Another feature of the world situation today is the large number of new nations emerging on the scene. You know, I think it is a good thing for Canadians to see some of the bright sides of the world picture and not be concentrating only on the scare headlines. Today we have self-government spreading in the world at a rate which was never even imagined a few years ago. I was looking at a map of Africa this morning and counting up the sovereign states in that key continent. I think the number is 28. I may be out one or two because the maps are not always kept up to date, but a new nation is emerging at midnight tonight, namely Sierra Leone. It will not be very long until there are other new nations taking their place in the world from that continent of Africa.

These are some of the bright spots in the world picture.

### Uneasy Coexistence

There are, of course, some which are not so bright. One of those is that we are living in days of an uneasy coexistence, with the Communist world on one side and the so-called Western world on the other. I hasten to add that I do not believe any honest person can question the fact that the Western grouping was formed as a defensive unit. It was not formed with the purpose of taking away anything from anybody, from the Communist world or from anyone else; it was formed as a defensive grouping, and we should always keep that fact in mind.

In these two groups there are a comparatively small number of nations. The vast number of nations in the world today are in between. For example, practically all those nations on the Continent of Africa are not committed to one side or the other. In fact one of their main purposes is to refuse to be committed either way. They want no part whatever of the cold war. They have too many problems of their own, building up their own nations, training the necessary leaders and all that sort of thing, to have any time for getting mixed up in the cold war; this is a fact which Canadians should remember.

### Overwhelming Destructive Power

Another dark spot in the world picture is that at the present time, the age in which we live, there is overwhelming destructive power. When you recall that the Soviet can hurl a missile with an atomic warhead 7,000 or 8,000 miles and land that missile within a mile of the target, and when you recall at the same time



that there are now at sea Polaris submarines of the United States, each with many times the destructive power-contained in all the bombs dropped in the second world war -- when you realize these facts you understand that mankind today is in a position to destroy our whole civilization. Here again is another fact which Canadians in particular would do well not to forget, because we just happen to lie between the two great nuclear powers of the world, each of which has the capacity to destroy the other in a matter of hours; it does not need a very fertile imagination for a Canadian to realize what would happen to his country if there should be a catastrophe of that kind.

What is Canada's role in this world? I suggest ... that there must be no escapism in Canada. As a people we have traditions of courage, of common sense and of religious faith. Our nation was not founded by people who were in the habit of wringing their hands, giving up and refusing to face facts no matter how unpleasant they might be.

This is not the character of the Canadian people. We must take our full part in world affairs and do it with a spirit of optimism. This is no day for a pessimist in world affairs. Anyone trying to deal with world problems today who is a pessimist is very likely to end up in a mental asylum. I feel that Canadians should face the world with optimism and also idealism, and this our people have been doing. Canadians from coast to coast look on world affairs from an idealistic point of view. How else can you explain the fact that there has been practically unanimous endorsement of the large programmes of aid to the less-fortunate peoples of the world?

### No Covetousness

Our people do not look at the world with envy. We envy no one his or her country. Canadians have had an unselfish approach, perhaps because we have so much land that we do not know what to do with it. If we had not had enough, we might have been just as greedy about taking over other people's land as some other countries have been; I do not suggest for a minute that we are any better fundamentally than any other people.

In addition ... in the world of today Canada must honour her commitments. We must stand by our allies. There are a great many Canadians gone before us who would be ashamed if they ever found that Canadians in 1961 were running out on their allies. This is not the Canadian character. When a nation fails to stand by its friends then it is not worthy of having friends, and none of us wants to put Canada in that position.

This is a day when Canada in world affairs can urge cool-headed action. It is so easy to become excited about some of these questions and start condemning some other nation, start saying things that will hurt the people of another nation, saying things which may have a far-reaching effect that is not for the good of





Canada or of mankind. I suggest that we must always urge cool-headed action in dealing with world problems. We have a far wider influence in the world than most Canadians realize. I do not take any credit for that myself or on behalf of the Government of which I am a member. I do not say that we are doing more than previous Governments did but Canada has a very wide influence in world affairs.

Today I propose to review briefly and sketchily some of the ways in which Canadian efforts are being directed in dealing with various world problems. Before proceeding to do so, I feel that I must pay a tribute to the men and women serving Canada in the Department of External Affairs. They number about 2,000 and I believe it would be impossible to find a more devoted group than these officers and members of our department. Canada now has diplomatic relations with some 63 other countries, 19 in the western hemisphere, 22 in Europe, 7 in Africa and 15 in Asia including the Middle East, Far East and Australasia. This does not mean that we have 63 embassies because in some cases an ambassador will be representing Canada in two or in one case in four different countries; there are 16 countries to which our ambassadors from another country are accredited. I do not believe that any nation in the world has a finer group of foreign service officers today. These men have been carefully selected and trained. Our senior foreign service officers have vast experience, and in my time as Foreign Minister I have not found representatives of any other country who were any better.

We have been helped a great deal also by the type of ambassadors sent here by other countries. We have a large number of embassies in Ottawa staffed by distinguished citizens and through their work here Canada has made a large number of friends. All over the world you run into ambassadors who have served in Ottawa and who have left as friends of Canada. It is very important that we appreciate this work being done here and also that we learn from them because each and everyone of them has a great deal to offer.

### Disarmament

Canadian efforts in the world of today have been directed in various fields. Perhaps the most important has been the field of disarmament. When I mention disarmament I mean not only the attempt to reach agreement on the reduction of arms but also the effort to bring about a cessation in the development of more fearsome weapons. There are two sides to the picture: cutting down existing weapons and preventing the invention and development of weapons which are becoming steadily more destructive.

From the start Canada has participated in disarmament negotiations commencing as far back as 1946 or 1947. Our most recent efforts in the negotiating field were as a member of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee which was set up by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the Soviet Union at Geneva in the summer of 1959.



As Hon. Members know, these negotiations began in the spring of 1960, but in June they were broken off when the five Eastern members walked out. In August, following that walkout, Canada and the United States succeeded in bringing about a meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations which is composed of all the member nations.

At that meeting we got through a unanimous resolution calling for a resumption of the disarmament negotiations at the earliest possible date. Nothing had been done when the General Assembly met in September and Canada then introduced a disarmament resolution, co-sponsored by Sweden and Norway, which in essence called for a prompt resumption of negotiations for the selection of a neutral as chairman and for co-operation of the United Nations with the negotiators through the Disarmament Commission. For example, we had in mind that the Disarmament Commission should set up ad hoc committees to assist the negotiators and also to check the work that they were doing. Eventually, we were able to get a total of 18 co-sponsors for that resolution.

However, the atmosphere at the United Nations last fall was very tense and that ... is putting it in mild language. It really was worse than that. It was very difficult to have agreement reached on any question, let alone on the subject of disarmament. We were not able to gain our objective before the adjournment in December. Fortunately, during the session which ended last Saturday morning, there was far less tension. I cannot say whether or not this was because there had been a change of administration in the United States or because everyone was tired of that quarrelsome attitude just as we in this House get tired of such an atmosphere after a few hours and decide it might be better to be less pugnacious. There is a good deal of the element of human nature in the deliberations of the United Nations, just as there is in those of the Canadian House of Commons.

Whatever the cause, there has been far less tension in the United Nations during these recent weeks.

Eventually, the United States and the Soviet Union, with a good deal of assistance and a good deal of prompting from other nations -- I am not being immodest when I say Canada took a prominent part in this prompting and in these negotiations -- decided that they would get together and try to arrange for the resumption of disarmament negotiations at about the end of July of this year. After all, these two nations are the key nations in any disarmament negotiations. They brought in a joint resolution before the General Assembly which was passed unanimously. They were unable to agree on the composition of the negotiating group. One side had suggested that there should be an impartial chairman and vice chairman. The other side wanted five uncommitted countries added to the five Eastern and the five Western countries. Agreement was not finally reached, but I believe that in these intervening weeks that question can be worked out.





One fact which was of great help was that at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London in March there was a statement issued on disarmament which was published as an annex to the final communiqué. Here was a statement agreed to by all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers on this question of disarmament. It contained the following very significant and very helpful paragraph:

The principal military powers should resume direct negotiations without delay in close contact with the United Nations, which is responsible for disarmament under the Charter. Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other nations should also be associated with the disarmament negotiations, either directly or through some special machinery to be set up by the United Nations or by both means.

Canada is working now in preparation for the resumption of disarmament negotiations. As Hon. Members know Lieutenant General E.L.M. Burns is our adviser on this subject and he would be heading any Canadian delegation participating in disarmament talks. I believe there is good reason to expect real progress in the field of disarmament during the present year.

### Nuclear Tests

Hon. Members will recall that Canada has taken a firm position on the question of nuclear tests. Time and again we have said we are against any further nuclear weapons tests. We continue to follow with the greatest attention the developments in the three-power negotiations which are taking place now in Geneva on this parallel question of finding a way to end further nuclear weapons tests. This conference is one which has never been broken up. It has been going on now for nearly three years, but has been adjourned from time to time. Agreement has been reached on many aspects of the problem but there has been no final agreement and yet, during the whole of that time, not one of those three participating nations has undertaken a nuclear test. There has been a voluntary moratorium during this intervening period. This moratorium has continued until today, in spite of the demands from people, for instance in the United States, that further tests are essential and that testing should be resumed.

Before the Christmas break in the recent session of the General Assembly, the Canadian position on nuclear tests was once again reaffirmed by our votes in support of two resolutions asking to reinforce the present moratorium on nuclear weapons tests. Canadian opposition to testing is based not only on concern for the radiation hazard but also on its belief that the prevention of testing will inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons.



With this consideration in mind Canada also voted in the General Assembly for an Irish proposal aimed at limiting the spread of nuclear weapons at the independent disposal of national governments. Consistent with the Canadian view that temporary measures are no substitute for disarmament -- and this Irish resolution, of course, was a temporary measure -- under effective international control, the Canadian vote on this resolution was explained as follows, and I am now quoting from the statement made by my Parliamentary Secretary the Hon. Member for Oxford (Mr. Nesbitt):

"Here again, however, I must emphasize the importance of the time factor. We have stressed over and over again the necessity of resuming negotiations on disarmament and we think that the threat of the further spread of nuclear weapons is one of the most important reasons for getting on with these negotiations. If no steps are taken toward disarmament -- if, indeed, we do not have even a beginning to serious negotiations on this subject -- no country will be content to sit by in the hope that goodwill alone will prevent the widespread dissemination of these weapons. For our part I must say quite clearly that Canada would not be able to accept this state of affairs for very long. We have worked and we will continue to work with every resource at our command to achieve an agreement on disarmament which would include provisions to deal with the frightening problem of nuclear weapons. If, however, there is no significant progress in this field in the immediate future, we will consider our position on the temporary measures which are proposed in this resolution."

Another field to which Canadian efforts have been directed in the United Nations itself. Here, Mr. Speaker, may I say a word of praise for my Parliamentary Secretary, for the Members of Parliament, Senator Blois and other Canadians who have represented Canada during this last session. At the United Nations the work is hard. I would never admit that fact to the delegation when I am in New York but, now that they are all safely home, I must admit that they work very much harder there than we do here in Ottawa. The hours are long. Constantly coming up for consideration are resolutions and amendments. There are other delegations to canvass and there are receptions to attend, and they are also quite a hazard. This is a full-time job for anybody who represents Canada at the United Nations, not only as a delegate but also as an observer. There our people have worked as a team. There are no differences between the parties. We are all there as a Canadian team. This is the main reason why the Canadian delegation has been so successful during this last session.





For the first time we have had observers from the Senate. I must say that I have found them also to be extremely helpful. When there is a snap decision to be made in a complicated situation, it helps a great deal for a Foreign Affairs Minister to be able to talk to an old friend from the Senate who has been in the House of Commons for many years, even though in another party, and to get his view as to what Canada should do. I have appreciated more than I can say the advice and the assistance that I have received during this last session from those Senators who have been in attendance.

At the United Nations we are in contact with 98 other delegations. It is a wonderful place to make friends and to sell Canada. I use the word "sell" in the constructive sense. I think this is one of the main jobs of the Canadian delegation. That job has been done very well during this last session.

We were greatly helped by the results of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. It was amazing to see the reaction among the representatives from Africa and Asia after that Conference. They, of course, had been following very closely what went on in London. They were extremely pleased with the stand taken by the Canadian Prime Minister, and our work with those delegations was made a great deal easier and a great deal more successful by reason of Canada's position on the question of apartheid which was so important at the Prime Ministers' Conference.

### The Congo

One of our main problems at the United Nations has been that of the Congo. We are one of the three European and North American countries with any considerable number of troops in the Congo. Because of those troops Canada has been a member of the 18-nation Congo Advisory Committee. There are differences of opinion on that Committee. The African nations do not always agree and neither do the nations of Asia. Our main purpose has been to keep this pot from boiling over, to try to reduce the friction in the Congo Committee and to help the Secretary-General take action which would be effective.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, from the beginning of the session last September he has been under terrific attacks, and very unfair attacks they have been. Sometimes I wonder why any human being would feel obliged to take all the abuse that has been handed out to Mr. Hammarskjold in these last six or seven months. However, he is a great world statesman who is there doing a job for humanity. I suppose the realization of this fact has been what has enabled him to withstand these attacks and to carry on in such a calm and efficient manner. Canada has felt that there should be no qualifications to our support for the Secretary-General while he was under attacks of this kind.



Another important feature of this last session has been the question of financing. Some countries will not pay their share. Communist Bloc countries, for example, will pay nothing towards the expenses of the Congo operation. They pay nothing towards the cost of the United Nations Emergency Force. Other nations claim they are not able to pay. This has been one of the most difficult questions faced by the United Nations.

As one of its final acts in the early hours of last Saturday morning, the General Assembly voted a resolution which approved the expenditure of \$100 million for the Congo operation for the period January 1, 1961, to October 31, 1961, that is, for ten months. The new session will convene in September, so this financial arrangement straddles the intervening period. It opened an ad hoc account for the 1961 expenditures as it had done for the 1960 expenditures. At the same time it decided to apportion the \$100 million as expenses of the organization in accordance with the scale of assessment for the regular budget. It provided for rebates of up to 80 per cent on some of the lowest assessments in an effort to assist some of the less-developed nations in meeting their financial obligations.

What this means is that the United States will be paying a very large part of the amount required. As Hon. Members will be aware from newspaper and radio reports, this resolution was finally adopted after a great deal of difficulty and after it had failed in its original form to secure the required two-thirds majority in the plenary body. As I explained earlier in my remarks, there was a second vote and it carried.

In addition, the Canadian Delegation tabled a draft resolution in the Fifth Committee which called for a thorough discussion at the sixteenth session, that is, the next one, of the administrative and budgetary procedures of the organization with a view to their improvement and to meeting the peace-keeping costs of the United Nations. Our draft resolution also provided for the appointment of a working group to study these procedures with particular reference to the establishment of a peace and security fund and a peace and security scale of assessments. It was put forward when it became evident that the sentiment at the resumed session was in favour of continuing to deal with the costs of the Congo operation on an ad hoc basis. Our object was to ensure that this approach would not be continued indefinitely and that serious consideration would be given to more permanent solutions to the organization's financial difficulties at the sixteenth session. We believe these expenses should be considered as part of the regular United Nations budget.

In committee this Canadian resolution was amended to take out the main feature. Our Delegation found itself obliged to vote against its own resolution as altered by these unacceptable amendments. However, when the resolution came before the plenary body the objectionable amendments failed to get the two-thirds vote





required, so they went out and our own resolution as it had been originally drawn, with minor changes, got the two-thirds vote necessary. Thus we finally succeeded in getting our way on this particular question.

There is much more that could be said about the session, but the Hon. Member for Oxford will be giving the House further details. Before I leave this subject I should like to make one plea on behalf of the United Nations. The Canadian Government attaches a great deal of importance to continued development in Canada of an informed public opinion on United Nations matters. It is very much aware of, and grateful for, the efforts which are being made in this direction by a wide variety of groups and associations of dedicated Canadians. Special mention might be made of the activities of the United Nations Association in Canada. That Association, through its national and branch offices, has taken the lead in stimulating public interest in the work of the United Nations. It has done this in a variety of ways, through the distribution of information material, the regular publication of a number of pamphlets and assistance in the organization of student United Nations groups. These groups, by the way, have been very successful. I have attended two or three of their meetings myself and have been much impressed. In addition, lectures have been organized, university and school seminars arranged, and so on. The success of these efforts so far has been reflected in the greater awareness in Canada of the value of the United Nations not only to less fortunate people in other parts of the world but to Canadians as well. Such efforts deserve the full support of the Canadian people, and I suggest they deserve the full support of the Members of this House of Commons.

### Commonwealth Programme

I turn now to another field to which Canadian efforts have been directed. I have mentioned the Commonwealth. I have already said something about the Prime Ministers' Conference and about the effects of decisions made there on our daily contacts with Asian and African nations. The addition of new members to this community continues. Sierra Leone will become a full-fledged member tomorrow and Tanganyika is to get its independence on December 28 of this year. Next year it is hoped the West Indies Federation will join the Commonwealth family, and so the story unfolds. Various other countries will be coming into the Commonwealth in the years that lie ahead.

Canada now has a very important part to play in the Commonwealth. This has been one effect of the decision taken in London. We now have a closer working relationship with Asian and African members of the Commonwealth than we had before, and we are in a preferred position to work with them in connection with problems arising not only within the Commonwealth but in other parts of the world.



The Canadian Government has placed great stress on the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan. It was designed to enable 1,000 young graduates in various parts of the Commonwealth to undertake a two-year course in another Commonwealth nation. Canada is to provide for 250; our objective is 250 at all times studying here under this Commonwealth plan. Because this is a two-year course we had only some 101 during the past year but there will be an additional number coming in the fall, and we think that at the end of the present fiscal year there will be in Canada about 230 such students from other parts of the Commonwealth. I do not have the figure for the Canadians studying abroad under this scheme. It is not as large as the number coming here, but quite a significant number of young Canadians have benefited under the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan.

In addition we have initiated a special Commonwealth African Aid Programme which is to cost Canada \$10,500,000 spread over a period of three years. We have asked for a vote of \$3,500,000 for this particular work during the present fiscal year. The aid will go to independent members of the Commonwealth in Africa, and those who are approaching independence. Information on the needs of these countries is now being collected so that effective and useful programmes can be carried out. We believe that assistance in education will be one of the greatest needs, and already requests have been received for a number of teachers in various fields.

In this connection there has been a very interesting development in that the Province of Manitoba has decided to share in this work. In May of last year, Premier Roblin expressed a desire to co-operate with the Federal Government in providing teachers for under-developed Commonwealth countries. We welcomed his offer, and a project in Ceylon was suggested as a pilot scheme. Three instructors are required for an institute of technology in Ceylon and an arrangement has now been worked out with the Province of Manitoba under which it will recruit three teachers and pay their regular salaries amounting to \$30,000 and the Federal Government will provide transportation, overseas bonuses and living allowances, costing from \$20,000 to \$25,000 per year. This Federal Government share will be part of our regular Colombo Plan technical assistance programme. We believe this is a very helpful development and we will be interested in entering into similar schemes with any of the other provincial governments.

Another field is that of the French-speaking African states. At the United Nations most of these states became members last year. They are very much interested in Canada because we are a bilingual country. They feel they have a closer kinship with us than with countries where French is not one of the official languages. In this work the Hon. Member for Charlevoix (Mr. Asselin), who was one of our delegates, has been particularly helpful, as well as the parliamentary observers from the Province of Quebec. Their main task during this session has been to keep in touch with delegates





from these French-speaking African countries. I believe that as a result a friendship has been built up there which has been of great value to Canada; and we hope of great value to these African nations as well.

Earlier this week I announced a scholarship plan involving \$300,000 per year to provide for training in several French-speaking universities in Canada and for sending teachers abroad to these French-speaking nations in Africa. Some of these countries have put out feelers with regard to the establishment of diplomatic missions in Ottawa. We are very interested in establishing one or two missions in certain of these French-speaking countries in Africa. The Ambassador to France, Mr. Pierre Dupuy, visited all of these French-speaking African countries in November and December and brought back a most interesting report in which he pointed out that they need, primarily, help in education and in health matters. We believe this is a field in which Canada can render efficient service, and one in which we can gain a large number of new friends.

#### NATO

Then we have the NATO field. I had intended to go into this at some length but I think perhaps I had better not do that today. There will be greater opportunity in this regard in the Committee.

There is to be a NATO Ministerial Meeting in Oslo from May 8 to May 10, and I expect to head the Canadian Delegation to that meeting. It will not be dealing at length with defence matters because the defence ministers are not attending, but there will be consideration given to long range planning for NATO. For example, there will be questions having to do with consultation and ways in which consultation between members of the alliance can be improved. Canada has always been very much concerned about this particular aspect of NATO activities. It is not easy to have adequate consultation among the representatives of 15 nations, but down through the years there has been built up an understanding and friendship among the representatives, and in my opinion, the methods of consultation are steadily improving.

There are different approaches by different nations and, as a matter of fact, some members of the alliance think that we should adopt a uniform policy on all questions regardless of whether or not they have to do directly with the NATO areas. Canada has never gone that far, our opinion being that there should be consultation on all questions which affect the members of the alliance but that it is not essential that they should adopt a bloc policy. This is particularly true with regard to the United Nations. We believe it would be unwise for the NATO nations to act as a bloc in the United Nations because there are many issues which do not directly affect the NATO alliance as a whole, and on which the views of different members of NATO vary. We believe it would be unwise to attempt to put NATO in a strait jacket in that way.



In Oslo we shall also discuss the international situation generally. There are many problems arising in all parts of the world which will be considered, and our general approach is that Canada should do everything possible to strengthen NATO. In this connection we attach considerable importance to the efforts which are being made in the context of long-term planning to define the main problems and objectives of the alliance with a view to charting a guide line for the future. At the same time we believe that in preparing for the future years we should not minimize or under-rate NATO's accomplishments, and in particular, the essential contribution it has made and continues to make to the preservation of world peace and security.

As a going concern NATO's future viability will depend largely on its ability to adapt itself to a changing world; a world of emerging new nations and revitalized old ones. It has to face complex new challenges, political, economic, psychological, as well as military, which are continuing to develop.

One of the striking features of the world today is that the situations which pose a serious potential threat to world peace often arise in the peripheral areas of the globe, as for example, in the Congo and Laos.

Canada believes that to deal with such situations we must often rely on the activities of agency or peace-keeping machinery sponsored by or under the auspices of broadly-based organizations such as the United Nations. We consider that these peace-keeping activities are complementary to the efforts of the alliance to maintain world peace and security. Canada believes that the long-term aims of the alliance can be furthered if all members are prepared to recognize the important role of those peace-keeping activities in the preservation of world peace and are willing to lend their full support.

During the debate there may be some discussion with regard to trade and economic matters and the role of NATO in that particular field. I believe that the objectives of the new Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development known as the O.E.C.D. are fully consistent with those embodied in Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance. Indeed, the new organization reflects the continuing desire of NATO countries to develop closer and more intimate relations in the economic field and provides an opportunity to translate into concrete measures and achievement the aims of Article II. NATO, however, continues to have a most important role to play in assessing the implications for the alliance of the economic developments and policies of the Sino-Soviet Bloc and, through consultations, in developing the political will among NATO countries to find solutions for economic problems which threaten to weaken the alliance or which threaten to provide opportunities for the extension of Communist influence. In the words of Mr. Spaak, NATO can and must serve as the "political conscience" of the Atlantic community of nations. We shall be doing our best to build





up and promote activities of NATO in this field, although quite a large part of the field will be covered by this O.E.C.D.

With regard to NATO, I realize that my hon. friend from Assiniboia and his fellow members of the C.C.F. party are of the opinion that Canada should withdraw from this alliance. As he knows, the Government does not agree with that suggestion. We feel it would be a great mistake for Canada to take a step of that kind. ...

Representatives of the Canadian Labour Congress presented their brief to the Government on February 2 of this year and on page 30, under the heading "Neutrality No Solution", we find the following:

"While looking toward world disarmament, the Congress does not believe that Canada can make a contribution in this direction by unilateral disarmament or by pursuing a policy of armed or disarmed neutrality."

The brief goes on:

"For reasons geographic, economic and historical, Canada must work in concert with those nations which share her outlook and interests, while at all times preserving her own integrity and striving for a world in which blocs and alliances will be obsolete."

#### The Western Hemisphere

... Let me leave the Old World and come back to the Western Hemisphere where we really belong. I should like to say a word or two about our relations with the United States and with the Latin American countries. Canada continues to be on a basis with the United States under which it is possible for us to consult on all problems of mutual interest and to do so in a most effective way. We have had the utmost co-operation from President Kennedy and from his Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, and from Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the Permanent Representative of the United States at the United Nations. I am confident that it will be possible to continue in this friendly effective way with the representatives of our great neighbour nation.

As Hon. Members know, we were successful in negotiating a treaty with the United States concerning the Columbia River. This was done after a great deal of time and effort had been expended. Now, of course, we are in a position where questions are being raised by the Province of British Columbia which, of necessity, is involved in this whole transaction. This is not the place to go into that in any great detail.

I should like to say a word about Latin America. As Hon. Members know, we have been very anxious to build up our relationship with the 20 republics of Latin America and we have met with considerable success in this regard. We now have diplomatic relations



with all but two of the Latin American countries. Of course, in some cases there is double accreditation. For example, we are establishing a new embassy in Costa Rica and the ambassador to that country will also represent Canada in Nicaragua, Honduras and Panama. As I have said, we have diplomatic relations with all but two of the Latin American countries and in one of those two we have a trade mission.

There have been serious problems in connection with Cuba. As you know, Mr. Speaker, Canada has continued to maintain normal diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba through these recent troubled months. In doing so, Canada has acted in a manner consistent with common international practice. No country except the United States has placed a comprehensive ban on trade with Cuba and Canada has not had the same grounds as the United States for taking such action.

While Canadian businessmen have remained free to carry on peaceful trade with Cuba, the Canadian Government has used existing regulations to prevent the export of strategic goods to that country. This is in keeping with Canada's general policy of prohibiting the export of military material to areas of tension anywhere in the world. The Canadian Government has also seen to it that the United States embargo should not be evaded by transshipment through Canada. It has permitted the export to Cuba of only such United States goods as might be exported directly from the United States to Cuba.

These policies remain in force. As the Prime Minister recently pointed out, Canada's practice over the years has been to carry on normal relations with countries of a different philosophy.

I am sure members would be interested to know that Canada's exports to Cuba in November of last year amounted to \$1.4 million compared with \$1.7 million in November of 1959 while in December of last year our exports were \$2.4 million compared with \$1.4 million in the same month the year before. In each of these months last year the United States sold more than twice as much to Cuba as Canada did in spite of all the restrictions the Americans have imposed. For the whole of the year 1960 our exports to Cuba amounted to \$13 million whereas in 1959 they were \$15.1 million or \$2.1 million higher than in 1960.

I might add with regard to Cuba that the Government is sincerely hopeful that a peaceful solution will soon be found for the conflicts troubling Cuba. I am sure Hon. Members will join me in looking forward to the day when an independent Cuba, free of all outside pressure, will choose to resume its traditionally close relations with the nations of this hemisphere. ...

I should like also to say a word about Chile. About a year ago, when the brave people of that country were suffering so terribly as a result of earthquakes, we had the opportunity to give them some help by supplying foodstuffs and air transportation, and





in other ways, I think that these actions on our part have resulted in the building up of a very fine relationship between our two countries. Canada, of course, was doing only what any humane country would do. We were delighted to be able to help them. But they have shown great gratitude. Recently our Ambassador to Chile had the opportunity to travel throughout the stricken area of Southern Chile and there he was shown records of the distribution of Canadian flour to hundreds of needy persons. He found the most kindly feeling toward our country.

As another sequel to the airlift assistance we were able to give, the Ambassador of Chile on April 20, on behalf of the Chilean Air Force, presented the Prime Minister with a plaque to commemorate the R.C.A.F.'s part in flying relief supplies to Chile. In the United Nations we found that Chile gave us help time and again. They were one of the first to co-sponsor our resolution on disarmament and we believe there has been a very fine friendship established between our two countries.

Hon. Members may wonder what is the present position with regard to Canada joining the Organization of American States. I have mentioned this question in many speeches during the last year. It has aroused a good deal of interest. Some branches of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs have undertaken to study the question and to let me know the results of their study. The policy of finding out from the Canadian people just what they think about this aspect of foreign policy is progressing very well. We are not yet in a position to make a decision as to whether or not Canada should join this Organization. We took steps to send observers to the meeting of the Organization of American States which was to have been held in Quito, Ecuador, next month. However, we received word today that the Conference will be going ahead. It is gratifying to see in Canada the increasing interest in this question. I am wondering whether Canada is wise in adopting an isolationist policy with regard to the western hemisphere. However, that is part of the argument on one side.

I do suggest to Hon. Members that they give this whole question deep thought, and that they discuss it with their constituents. It would be a big step in Canadian foreign policy if we were to join this western hemisphere organization. I think the decision should be taken only when it is fairly clear that the majority of the Canadian people are in favour of this being done.

### The Pacific Area

The final field of activity toward which we are directing our attention is in the Pacific. Yesterday I announced that a call for a cease fire had been issued by the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. as Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference of 1954. They had invited India, as Chairman of the Truce Supervisory Commission, to call the Commission together in New Delhi. In addition, they called for a conference of 14 nations to be held in Geneva on May 12. If Hon. Members read these letters, they will observe that the first job of



the Commission, which is Canada's main concern, will be to discuss the question of the tasks and functions which should be allotted to the Commission if there is a cease-fire in Laos.

The Commission is to hold these discussions in New Delhi, not in Laos, and then present an appropriate report to the Co-Chairmen, Russia and Great Britain, who will consider the Commission's report and give the Commission directions on going to Laos to carry out the work of controlling the cease-fire. This is not a perfect scheme because, at the first, we are going to be working in New Delhi, a thousand miles or so away from Laos.

In addition, it is not clear just what the tasks of the Commission will be if the cease-fire should take place. We are hoping that there will be a cease-fire promptly and that the Commission can be sent into Laos promptly and can be sent in before the Conference meets in Geneva on May 12. This is the intention, as explained by the United Kingdom, and I am hoping that things will work out in that way. Canada will do her full part. It is important that there should be peace in that part of Southeast Asia if for no other reason than that a war there might lead to war all over the world. We are in a position to make a contribution in the area, and we will be glad to do so. ...

Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, who is the key man in the picture today, requested in 1958 that the Commission get out of Laos. The majority of the members, India and Canada, voted accordingly and the Commission did get out of that country. The belief at the time was, of course, that a stable government had been established and that there would be no further need for that Commission. ...

We are also in a very influential position across the Pacific by virtue of our participation in the Colombo Plan. This has made us various friends in that area and Canada has an important voice in bringing about decisions across the Pacific which will be of general benefit to our nation as well as to the rest of the world.

I should like to say a final word about China. I feel quite sure that the Hon. Member for Assiniboia and his associates will be dealing with that subject in their remarks. I do not believe the Leader of the Opposition or the Hon. Member for Essex East will be very vocal about this particular question. During the Liberal convention last January a resolution was passed with regard to the entry of Red China into the United Nations which advocated that Canada should no longer vote for a moratorium on the discussion of this question in the United Nations. This resolution, of course, did not go very far. While that particular procedure has been followed for some years, the introduction of the moratorium resolution has not prevented an effective debate on the real issue of the admission of Red China. The step taken by the opposition in their convention does not go more than three or four inches ahead of the position which was adopted by the former Government and which has been followed by the present Government with regard to the discussion of the subject in the United Nations.





May I say, too, that the world does not stand still. Changes keep occurring everywhere, and certainly the question of Red China is one of the most interesting and important questions now under consideration by the External Affairs Department. Everyone knows the policy we have adopted, and if and when there is a change in that policy it will be announced in the ordinary manner. One fact Canadians should remember is that there are a great many people living on Formosa who are native Formosans. No one is anxious to have them turned over to Red China. I think this would be a disastrous move to make, yet Red China is not interested in recognition or entry into the United Nations unless her right to take over Formosa is accepted. This, of course, has been one of the very big obstacles in the way of taking steps to change the present situation. Eventually, the wishes of the people of Formosa will have to be an important factor. In considering this whole question I suggest that it would be wise for Canadians not to forget the important factor of Formosa in the whole picture.

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I think I have never made such a long speech ... in my Parliamentary career and I hope never to do it again. However, in conclusion may I say this. As Hon. Members know and as they will have found from this sketchy review of problems arising in all parts of the world, Canada is involved everywhere. In practically every part of the world Canada is involved in one way or another, to an extent and in such a manner that she can do something about every one of these problems. I suggest that this is a great challenge to the Canadian people. Whether we accept that challenge, whether we play our full part in world affairs -- the part which is there to be played by Canada -- will, of course, depend on the will of the Canadian people to participate, the idealism and optimism of the Canadian people and the sacrifices they are prepared to make.

I believe that Canada can render a service to mankind as a whole in the field of foreign affairs and, as the Minister responsible for Canada's activities abroad, it will be my objective to do just that. I ask for the support of the Members of the House, regardless of party, in bringing these facts to the attention of the Canadian people, thus helping to make it possible for the Canadian people to realize the challenge which faces them and to realize the opportunity for Canada to do something worth while in the world. If we make that attempt we shall be going a long way toward making our nation the type of nation we all think it should be.

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CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
OTTAWA - CANADA )



No. 61/6

## OUR NEW ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

Speech by Mr. Escott Reid, Canadian Ambassador to Germany, Hanover, May 6, 1961, at the North American Day Conference of the Hanover Fair.

In recent years there has been an increasing realization in all our North Atlantic countries of our increasing economic interdependence. One happy result of this has been the conception of a new economic partnership -- the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development -- which is expected to be born this autumn. It is about the economic challenges and opportunities of our new Atlantic partnership as we see them in Canada that I wish to speak this afternoon.

It is an honour and a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to set forth the Canadian approach to the work of the OECD in the presence of this distinguished audience and in particular of the speakers who will follow me: Mr. Hodges, the Secretary of Commerce of the country whose initiative led to the formation of the new Organization; Dr. Kristensen, whom we have been so fortunate to secure as Secretary-General; Dr. Erhard, the great prophet of North Atlantic economic co-operation.

### Economic Growth

The first of the three major objectives of the OECD is to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment while maintaining financial stability. This aim is of fundamental importance not only in order to provide a more abundant life in freedom for the Atlantic countries, but also to enable these countries to provide a higher level of trade and investment in the newly developing areas of the world.

Although the Canadian economy, in parallel with the United States economy, has been expanding slowly and unevenly in recent years and although this slowing down of expansion has been associated with a higher level of unemployment than can be regarded as tolerable, Canada has maintained its belief in outward-looking solutions to economic problems. We have demonstrated this belief by our strong and active support of such institutions as the GATT and the International Monetary Fund in the field of trade, and





the World Bank and programmes under the auspices of the United Nations in the field of aid to less-developed countries. Canada has also provided considerable aid bilaterally through such programmes as the Colombo Plan.

### Balance-of-Payments Problem

Canada has an unusual balance of payments and exchange-rate problem. An unfavourable current account balance emerged in the early 1950's and widened to almost \$1.5 billion a year in 1956 and 1957. Despite changes in the level of economic activity since that time, it has not fallen below \$1 billion a year. This is a very considerable amount for a nation of 18 million people. On merchandise account our unfavourable balance has diminished since 1956 but the unfavourable invisible balance has increased.

This large surplus of imports of goods and services is matched by, and is indeed largely the consequence of, a net inflow of foreign capital, the greater part of which has been long-term capital. The readiness of non-residents to invest in Canada and acquire Canadian securities has been sufficient to maintain the Canadian dollar consistently at a relatively high level in the exchange markets. This level of the exchange rate makes it more difficult for Canadian producers to compete with foreign goods in Canada and abroad, and is less welcome when the Canadian economy is not fully employed. This example serves to emphasize the difficulties involved in adapting our inter-dependent economies so that they may develop toward a high and rising level of economic activity.

There have been suggestions in Canada that we should attempt to meet some of our difficulties through policies amounting to economic isolation. Canada has, however, continued to follow policies which provide a favourable climate for productive investment by other countries in Canada and we have continued to seek an expansion of our trade and economic interests in and through an expanding world economy.

I assure you that Canada will continue to play its full part in promoting fruitful international economic co-operation. At the same time my country cannot ignore the internal problems to which I have drawn attention. In these circumstances, if the aims of the OECD Convention are to be realized, I suggest that a special responsibility rests with those OECD countries which are enjoying rapid growth and substantial balance of payments surpluses -- a responsibility to adopt outward-looking policies that will contribute to what I might term an "expansionist" solution of problems which other members such as Canada may be experiencing. The OECD can play a valuable role in encouraging such policies.



An expansionist solution of the current problems of the North Atlantic area, as well as the attainment and maintenance of a higher rate of economic growth, will be dependent to a large extent on the rate at which world trade can be made to grow. This is particularly true for Canada, where export trade-accounts for twenty per cent of our gross national product of \$36 billion a year. Of vital importance to us are the economic stimuli to the Canadian economy which come from abroad, from the markets in which we sell our products. The same holds true, to a greater or lesser extent, for many other countries. Indeed for all the Atlantic countries trade is and must remain at the centre of our preoccupations when we are considering the question of economic growth.

### Expansion of Trade

This brings me to the second objective of the OECD, the expansion of world trade on a multi-lateral, non-discriminatory basis.

Developments in this field have been rapid and significant in recent years. The most important factor is without doubt the establishment of a new economic and trading entity in Europe, the European Economic Community, which is the world's largest trading entity. This development, which has taken place concurrently with, and has contributed to, the achievement of stable and highly prosperous economic conditions in Western Europe, has already altered in a decisive way the balance of economic forces within our trading world. The economic conditions in the EEC and the commercial policies it follows will from now on have repercussions on other countries comparable in importance to those exerted by the United States economy. This implies a very heavy burden of responsibility on the members of the EEC. Because the repercussions of their policies are so great, their long-run interests require them, when formulating their policies, to take full account of the repercussions on other countries.

### Canadian Misgivings

I know that sometimes we in Canada may appear to you in Western Europe to be critical of the EEC. I assure you that it is not that we do not welcome the new developments, for we sincerely do. We do, however, have some concern that, in solving the internal problems of the EEC, the member countries may tend to lose sight of the wider issues and objectives which concern us all. I would suggest that such fears in outside countries are inevitable and that these fears will remain until the policies of the EEC have been established, notably in the agricultural field, and it has been clearly demonstrated that these policies are outward-looking and not restrictive of trade.

I am happy to add that we have been encouraged by the signs in recent months that the members of the Community are becoming more aware of these "outside" problems and are anxious to find fair and trade-expanding solutions. Many difficult problems, however, remain to be solved.





Similar preoccupations and sympathies exist in Canada with respect to the other European regional grouping, the EFTA, which includes our second largest trading partner, the United Kingdom.

Because of our special links with the United Kingdom, and of our substantial trade interests in continental Europe, we are, of course, especially interested in the suggestions which have been made to broaden the benefits of free trade in Europe by associating in some way the EEC and EFTA, The Six and The Seven.

We in Canada have been steadfast supporters for many years of freer trade -- on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis -- and we have in GATT actively supported all moves in that direction. We remain committed to this goal.

### Repercussions of Regional Groups

It is clear, however, that the wider and the more economically significant a regional grouping is, the more crucial the repercussions it can have on the pattern and volume of world trade. The establishment of the OECD has reflected the recognition by countries on both sides of the North Atlantic that they have become so interdependent economically, that their future progress requires a very close and intimate co-operation in formulating and implementing their respective policies. We believe that the OECD can be an effective forum in which to discuss among ourselves the problems of The Six and The Seven and the related wider problems of promoting freer trade, and that in so doing the OECD can and must work hand in hand with GATT.

We also believe that, while a broader European trading arrangement could contribute to the lowering of trade barriers generally, it is essential that any moves or arrangements to prevent a trade split in Europe would not lead to a trade split between Europe and other parts of the world trading community or, equally important, that they should not impair the prospects for the progressive lowering of trade barriers on a wider, non-discriminatory basis.

It is, I submit, especially important that whatever moves or arrangements may be contemplated should take full account of the trading interests and problems of countries outside the North Atlantic area, and in particular of the less-developed countries.

### Expansion of Less-Developed Countries

But much more is required on behalf of the less-developed countries, and this brings me to the third, and, over the long-term, possibly the most important, objective of the OECD, "the sound economic expansion of less developed countries throughout the world." While there are of course limits to what any one country can do, it



is not only right from a moral and humanitarian point of view but it is in our interests to encourage sustained economic development in the less-developed countries by making a continuing contribution that is related to the real needs of those countries.

The members of the Development Assistance Group, which will become the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, have already accomplished a great deal through consultation and co-operation. Acknowledging the urgent needs of the less-developed countries, they have at their latest meeting recommended an expansion in the aggregate volume of the resources made available for economic aid, and an improvement in the effectiveness of that aid.

### Canada Favours Outright Grants

While there is no dispute about the objectives we all seek -- the greatest flow of aid consistent with our means and our capabilities -- there are differences of emphasis about the best form this aid might take. Canada's aid programmes, which are now in their tenth year, have been based on the provision of aid through outright grants, and it remains the view of the Canadian Government that this is, by and large, the best form of aid, since it places the least burden on the economies and the balance of payments of the recipient countries. At the same time we recognize that conditions vary from country to country (among donors as well as among recipients) and that there are circumstances where other forms of aid will best serve the purposes required.

The most important factor would seem to be that aid should be related to the economic requirements and capacity of the country receiving it and the particular purpose for which the aid is required. The developed countries for their part should examine how their aid programmes could best be improved and made to suit the needs of the less-developed countries.

The aid efforts of the richer, industrialized countries will fail in their objectives, however, unless they are matched by equally imaginative and determined efforts on their part to provide sales opportunities in their markets both for the staple agricultural and industrial exports of the less-developed countries and also for the products of their new industries. The need for progress in this direction is becoming urgent as development programmes begin to take effect in these countries. We shall also have to give more thought in the future to measures for reducing to a minimum fluctuations in the prices of primary products.

The benefits to be derived from the expansion of world trade resulting from the advancement of the less-developed countries are immense, but the problems facing us are likewise immense. It is to the solution of these problems that we must direct our energies





and our attention, so that the efforts the less-developed countries are making to throw off the yoke of poverty, ignorance and disease shall not be in vain.

Our new Atlantic partnership in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development presents us with challenges and opportunities. I have this afternoon suggested some of the ways in which my country, Canada, considers that we of the North Atlantic Community can rise to these challenges and seize these opportunities.

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S/c





ADA

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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AUG 10 1961

No. 61/7

### HEMISPHERE AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS

Address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker,  
Kiwanis International Convention, Toronto,  
July 3, 1961.

This Convention shows the strength of the common dedication to freedom which unites Kiwanians in Canada and in the United States. Kiwanians believe that neither nation can fulfil its destiny in isolation from the other, and that neither nation can make its full contribution to freedom, except in partnership with the other.

Embracing the greater part of the continent of North America is a powerful nation, strong economically, which in less than 25 years has assumed world responsibility, and adjacent to it a nation, one-tenth its population, but no less unselfish over the years in the defence of justice and freedom and in providing assistance to needy people.

These very differences in power explain many common problems and lead to misunderstandings. There are those who assume, as if it were an article of faith, that the weaker must always support and advocate the courses of action adopted by the stronger. At the other extreme are those whose automatic response in almost any situation is to disagree.

Kiwanis has done much not only to strengthen friendship and understanding between our countries and to commemorate historic events. It erected a memorial in 1935 on the old British Legation site in Washington as a tribute to the signing of the Rush-Bagot Agreement in 1817, the Agreement which set limits to the size of armed naval forces on the Great Lakes. It must have seemed unbelievable at the time of the Rush-Bagot Agreement that the events of war so fresh in memory could ever be forgotten; the destruction of the public buildings of the city of Toronto, the burning of the White House in Washington, and the threats of a "war of extermination".

There have been serious difficulties since, but in mutual understanding the United States and Canada have become unswerving friends and the closest of partners in freedom's camp. That friendship and partnership requires constant attention, mutual respect and understanding, and the exercise of tolerance and common sense.





More citizens, commodities and capital cross our frontiers than any other in the world. As traders we purchased from the United States last year \$679 million more than the United States purchased from us. Such an imbalance cannot continue indefinitely.

In the forum of ideas there is a great imbalance, and, despite the marvels of mass media, the story of Canada is not always known or understood.

### A Canadian Destiny

The United States has built a great nation, strong, independent and free, on the basis of principles of freedom, of which we are joint heirs. We are building a great nation too. Canadians, while having no intention of forcing the growth of an artificial nationalism divorced from what is best in the rest of the world, are not less determined to create the conditions in which a natural Canadianism will not be submerged but shall survive and flourish. We strive for the preservation of distinctive characteristics and the right to determine Canada's destiny.

As citizens of an independent country with its historic roots and racial characteristics, we can be different from Americans without having differences with Americans.

Some define this attitude as anti-Americanism. We assert that it is not anti-American for Canadians to be concerned about their interests and to insist that they shall not be determined by any other nation, however friendly; while welcoming American investment, we contend that it is not anti-American for us to ask that United States firms with subsidiaries in Canada should conduct their affairs with due regard to Canadian interests. We believe that it is not anti-American for Canadians to wish to make their decisions in international affairs in Canada's interest rather than to be unquestioning followers of the views of other nations, however friendly.

### Canada and Cuba

In this connection I think I should refer to misunderstandings that have arisen over the respective attitudes of the United States and Canada to Cuba.

The Canadian Government is as concerned as any government over the Communistic trends of the Cuban Government. However, Canada, while deploring various actions and practices of the Cuban Government, has not considered such disapproval to constitute a reason for departing from the normal relations which the Canadian Government has endeavoured to maintain with various countries whose philosophies are repugnant to us. The course we follow, I would point out, has been the course followed by all other members of the NATO alliance.



It has been contended that in continuing to trade with Cuba, Canada was profiting at the expense of the United States. The answer is that, although the United States placed an embargo on trade with Cuba in October, 1960, the volume of United States exports to Cuba has remained greater than that of Canadian exports according to the latest figures.

We have banned the export of any strategic and defence materials or military equipment to Cuba, as we do to all areas of instability or political unrest.

We do not and shall not permit Canada to be used as a back door for the evasion of controls which the United States Government has seen fit to impose on its nationals.

We are deeply interested in everything pertaining to this hemisphere. We know that Latin American states are playing an ever-increasing role on the international scene and that their support to the Western world is of major importance.

Canadians welcome the constructive proposals put forward by President Kennedy in the "Alliance for Progress". We believe that only by the raising of living standards of less fortunate nations can their social fabric be strengthened and their peoples be preserved from the contaminating influences of Communist propaganda.

The improvement of conditions in Latin America can be achieved only through international co-operation. The Canadian Government was recently invited to be represented by an observer at a special ministerial meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Uruguay and has accepted.

### A Welfare Balance Urgent

The wealth of continental resources and skills make high living standards possible for Canadians and Americans. Our eyes and our hearts must always look out to the world where "the abyss of affluence" divides peoples, and where bridges must be built to cross that abyss if the "developed North" and the "under-developed South" on this planet are to reach out and make true contact with each other. The world cannot exist half rich and half poor, and it is to the interests of all who love freedom that a favourable balance in the massive imbalance of human welfare must be attained without delay.

In the field of defence Canada and the United States have a close and effective partnership, based on a mutual regard for each other's sovereignty and rights. In the missile age it is only by collective efforts that the demands of an adequate defence against Communism can be met.





As an example of defence co-operation and production-sharing an agreement between Canada and the United States has recently been entered into, whereby:-

- (a) the RCAF will take over 16 stations of the Pinetree radar line, which have hitherto been the responsibility of the United States;
- (b) the Canadian squadrons assigned to NORAD will be provided with 66 aircraft of the F-101B type;
- (c) the two countries will jointly finance procurement in Canada of a significant number of F-104G aircraft for our NATO partners.

This agreement provides further evidence of the determination of both countries to maintain the operational effectiveness of the North American air defence system, and will make an important contribution to the security of North America and to the European area of NATO as well.

More than that, it expresses a mutual desire to make common use of those resources which each possesses and which can be made available for the benefit of each other and all partners in NATO in the pursuit of peace.

### Neutralist Lullabies Ineffectual

It is sometimes contended by a vociferous minority that Canada should withdraw from her defence commitments. I have no ear for the lullabies of the neutralist - neither have the overwhelming majority of Canadians. Indeed, until such time as an effective international disarmament agreement has been negotiated we must continue to maintain and perfect our defences.

Canada's record in two world wars, when freedom was at stake, gives the answer to the neutralist contentions. Canada voluntarily and of her own free will declared war - in August 1914, and again in September 1939. One hundred thousand Canadians made the supreme sacrifice, and to have an understanding of the degree of Canada's sacrifice in the First Great War, although Canada's population was less than 8.5 million, the number of Canadians who made the supreme sacrifice exceeded in number those in the forces of the United States.

### A Dark Horizon

The world horizon is once again darkened by signs of Communist threats and intransigence. In Laos the Communists profess to support neutrality and independence but are making it difficult for the International Commission to secure these objectives. In the Congo and South Vietnam they endeavour to weaken international action.



Three years of work on a treaty designed to outlaw the testing of nuclear weapons has produced no agreement because the Soviet Union refuses to accept an effective system of inspection.

Khrushchov for the last year has been trying to destroy the United Nations, having found that he could not control it. Disarmament negotiations are stalled as negotiation by the Soviets has come to mean negation, delay and ultimate frustration of the hopes for peace of mankind.

The defensive operations of free nations in NATO, SEATO and CENTO are violently opposed.

In the last few weeks Khrushchov has become more threatening and the free world today faces its most grave and perilous crisis since 1945. He has stated that, in the absence of agreement with the West, the U.S.S.R. will sign a separate treaty with East Germany before the end of the year and will turn over regional control over Western access routes to Berlin to East Germany.

The declared policy of the U.S.S.R. for West Berlin would make its people puppets subject to control by Communist pressure and acceptance would be a mortal blow to the West.

#### Time of Testing

This is a time for faith, courage and calm determination. Khrushchov must not be permitted to under-estimate the determination of the West to preserve the freedom of the people of West Berlin, or to lull himself into the belief that the West is divided, decadent, and lacking in common purpose and dedication. He must be made aware that he will not be allowed to devour one of freedom's outposts.

The Western alliance will have to avoid the pitfalls of weakness or unreasonable rigidity, and must maintain calm judgment so that no avenues that might contribute to peace will be overlooked. The West must seek for agreement, but without appeasement or sacrifice of the pledged word. It must be tenacious in opposition to Soviet use of force or unilateral interferences by the Soviet of allied rights but flexible enough to meet changing conditions without sacrificing principles. The gravity of the situation has been revealed by President Kennedy, Prime Minister Macmillan as recently as Saturday, and by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, a few days ago, when he used these words:

"These next six months are going to be one of the most difficult and dangerous periods through which this country has passed since the last war".

The mounting tension is reminiscent of 1914 and 1939, with one difference: The knowledge of the awfulness of nuclear war must exert a restraining influence on the Kremlin.





The fullest and continuing consultation between Great Britain, the United States, France and West Germany, the four powers particularly affected, and all NATO nations is required. The unity of the Western alliance, politically and economically, must be strengthened, and a concerted policy is demanded.

### Declaration of Principles

From time to time I have advocated the need of a precise declaration of the principles for which the free world stands. We did so in the Atlantic Charter in the days of war. These days are no less fraught with danger. I think we have failed in leaving to too large an extent the interpretation of our ideals and purposes to the enemies of freedom.

And of these ideals and purposes there is need for the free world to disavow the practice of discrimination based on colour or race. It is with some pride that I tell you that Canada has tried to bring this about under law by a Statute passed last year by the Parliament of Canada under which fundamental and personal freedoms are declared to be the right of every Canadian, without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, religion, colour or sex.

It is not without interest that Mr. Khrushchov, only a few days ago, stated that later this month a draft of a new Soviet programme will be revealed which he claims "will bring about socialism everywhere in the world".

In counteracting the Communist campaign to dominate the world, the Western democracies must, by word and deed, demonstrate to the emerging and uncommitted nations that we will assist them to raise their standards and that the best hope of these nations of self-fulfilment and self-expression is through a scrupulous regard for the rights and dignity of the individual, respect for the rule of law, and by the establishment of free political and social institutions responsible to the requirements and will of their people.

### The Sword of the Spirit

We must mobilize that faith in God which inspired the Pilgrim Fathers and the early French pioneers of Canada - and the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. They would not have survived without faith in spiritual things. I believe with all my heart and being that, however ominous the threats of the Communists, if the free nations in unity are powerful in their defences and are armed with the sword of the spirit, freedom will live.

Great Britain, the United States and Canada with a joint heritage of freedom must maintain unity with France, West Germany and other nations in the Western alliance and, if we fail to do so, we may have failed to maintain freedom not only for this but for all future generations.



What of the future?

The Communists believe that their cause will triumph because the rules of history so decree. Unlike Marxism, which believes that the course of history is determined by immutable laws discovered by Karl Marx, democracy believes that man can, under God's providence, shape the future. We recognize human fallibility, and hold in respect the rights of dissent.

We are faced by a colossus which seeks what it considers the inevitable defeat of democracy.

The alternatives before mankind were epitomized by President Kennedy in his inaugural address when he stated that "man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life".

This is a time when the words of Longfellow have a new meaning:

"Look not mournfully into the Past. It comes  
not back again.....  
Wisely improve the Present. It is thine....  
Go forth to meet the shadowy Future, without  
fear, and with a manly heart."

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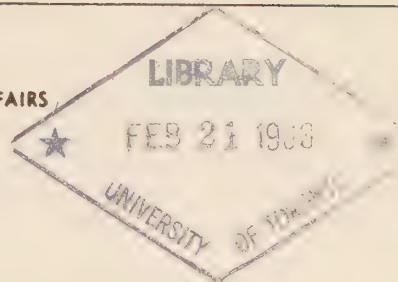






## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 61/8

### FEDERAL AID FOR AMATEUR SPORT

Remarks by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker,  
at the opening of the Hockey Hall of Fame,  
Canadian National Exhibition Grounds, Toronto,  
August 26, 1961.

The opening of Hockey's Hall of Fame is a significant event in the history of Canadian athletics. It is also a fine example of the close ties existing between Canada and the United States and the unity we have built in the pursuit of recreation. We share the heroes of hockey as no other countries on earth do. This building has the fame of solidarity between the two nations. Two-thirds of the money for this building was raised in the land of Canada's neighbour, but here it stands to honour the deeds of hockey players from both sides of the border.

Hockey is a great instrument of national unity -- and of good relations with the United States.

The extent to which hockey has been accepted in other countries is seen in the strong competition Canadian teams sometimes experience overseas. When they meet defeat, harsh words are sometimes said, even in Parliament, as my colleague and one of the greatest of Canadian goal keepers in amateur hockey, Senator Joe Sullivan, will testify. However strong the competition, it is good to know that hockey has been adopted abroad so wholeheartedly.

I wish time would permit me to pay tribute to all of you who have contributed so much to Canada's hockey history. I pay tribute to the hard work of those who have played so large a role not only in making the achievements of champions possible but in the task of developing sport and recreation for the benefit of the Canadian people.

Gathered here to honour the great in hockey, we might turn our thoughts to the future and to the foundations necessary for the building not only of greatness in all fields of sport but the physical vitality, energy and good health of Canadians.



While the professional has become the first line of growth and guidance, the true amateur -- the man or woman who plays for the love of the game -- is worthy of high commendation.

A changing and challenging world leaves scars upon the body and mind. The changes in the tempo of living have had profound effects on health. The shift in population from the active outdoor life of the country to the more sedentary existence of the city and the progressive elimination of active effort through new techniques of automation have raised new health and fitness problems.

Emerson told us in a much quieter day that "the first wealth is health". We can apply this test also to the nations of the world involved in the contest between Communism and freedom. Mental and physical health are powerful weapons in this contest.

Success in competitive sport has become an important element in the contest for the hearts of men. Success in Olympic Games and in all fields of international competitive sports has a tremendous effect on the prestige of nations.

### Types of Support Hitherto

One thinks of the many public-spirited persons, of the provincial fitness and recreation branches, of the many sports' governing bodies, of the voluntary organizations which devote themselves in full or part-time to fostering games and athletics among young people, to a work for which the reward is in the knowledge of a job well done.

A number of Federal Departments, including Health and Welfare, Northern Affairs, National Defence and Labour, among others, take an active interest in the promotion of physical efficiency and recreation.

However, despite all the efforts of persons and organizations, of federal and provincial departments, there is a lack of athletic and recreational facilities in the country as a whole. Through the municipal Winter Works Programme, the Federal Government has, in the last three years, assisted in the promotion of public projects, including worthwhile athletic and recreational construction projects and paying one-half of the payroll charges.

Last year the Federal Government assisted 915 projects through this Programme for the construction of hockey and skating rinks, swimming pools, sports facilities, and for the extension and improvement of parks and playgrounds. These projects cost in the neighbourhood of \$15 million.

Many sports leaders and other interested Canadians have been petitioning for legislation for the encouragement of physical fitness and athletics, while freely maintaining the primary and principle responsibility which the Constitution places on the provinces. A great step forward in this regard will be taken in legislation which will be brought before Parliament within the next few weeks.





### A Proposed Federal Programme

The legislation will be the first major recognition of the importance of sports and athletics in the national life of the nation. It will provide the groundwork for a "people's programme", for its detailed operation will require the benefit of the views and useful planning of those who have studied and understand the problem. It will have as its purpose the encouragement of amateur athletics and to that end by a system of awards for the development of physical efficiency will in the course of years contribute to raising standards of health among Canada's younger generation.

The first step will be the establishment of a **national sports council** to be known as the National Advisory Council of Fitness, Recreation and Amateur Sport, of some 20 or 25 members representing agencies connected with these fields, and the provinces.

The Council will provide a forum at the national level for advising the Federal Government on sports matters.

The programme will, if Parliament agrees, be implemented through federal grants and federal assistance in personnel and coach training, research, information, leadership training and coaching courses, assistance for participation in national sport and in international competition, and in other ways. For this purpose a **federal** contribution of \$5 million annually will be provided initially.

### Wide Co-operation Sought

I ask the co-operation of sports organizations and the Canadian Advisory Sports Council, and all interested persons, to join in the task of advising the National Council as to the most effective means whereby questions such as provision of coaches and assistance to amateur groups can be determined in the light of need and experience.

I am especially interested in securing the views of the sports writers everywhere across Canada as they have intensive knowledge of all aspects of this national programme. I hope that they will write to the Minister of National Health and Welfare or me expressing their views.

In the few minutes at my disposal I have been able to do no more than outline the plan in a general way but I have said enough, I hope, to indicate the nature of the programme to be launched.



I hope that this programme will provide the means, in co-operation with the provinces, of encouraging amateur sport and thereby will add not only to the happiness and health of all the people of Canada but to the international athletic prestige of Canada.

I declare officially open the Hockey Hall of Fame.

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S/A







CANADA

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 61/9

### WESTERN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Excerpts from the prepared text of an Address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, to the Canadian Bar Association, Winnipeg, September 1, 1961

World attention is now focused on the situation in West Berlin and on the sudden decision of the Soviet Union to resume nuclear tests.

The serious and disturbing nature of that announcement cannot be exaggerated. It was made completely without warning while nuclear test talks were still in progress at Geneva. It came as a cynical response to new Western proposals offering further concessions in the interests of concluding a test-ban treaty. It came as discussion of the whole issue was shortly to take place at the Assembly of the United Nations. It showed clearly the contempt in which the Soviet Union holds international opinion.

This action by the Soviet Union has grave implications for the question of general disarmament. If we cannot achieve agreement in the limited field of nuclear weapons testing, how much more difficult it will be to make progress in the even more complicated area of disarmament. Whatever the difficulties, however, it is essential not to be diverted by the U.S.S.R. from our efforts to achieve constructive settlements.

Without serious international negotiations, humanity will be faced with an ever-widening breach between East and West and even more dangerous and powerful weapons. Mr. Khrushchov's references to nuclear bombs of a force of 100 million tons of TNT leave no margin for doubt about the devastation which could be wreaked on mankind either by intent or by miscalculation.

It is of paramount importance in these circumstances to avoid hysteria and hasty, ill-considered action. It is necessary to take a calm and hard look at the situation created by Soviet moves both in Berlin and now with respect to nuclear weapons testing. We must endeavour to fathom the relationship existing between these two problems.



## View of the Average Canadian

Canadians, in common with people everywhere, are asking whether the crisis will continue to mount and how it will end. Some Canadians, with the memory of two World Wars, are asking whether the Western nations should risk war over West Berlin, a war which in its frightfulness would dwarf all the wars in history. The question is asked as to whether the Western nations are courting war over a rubber-stamp by their refusal to accept at check-points en route to West Berlin passes signed by East Germans instead of by Russians.

The average Canadian sees Soviet threats followed by Western counter-measures. He fears that some new incident in Berlin might eventually lead to the nuclear devastation of the world. He wants Canada to be heard speaking words of counsel with firmness but with calm moderation. He asks Canada to exert its influence to ensure that every possibility of finding a peaceful and honourable way out of this crisis is fully and patiently explored.

Canada earned the right to express its views by service and sacrifice voluntarily accepted in August 1914 and in September 1939 and continued since then in Korea and in the United Nations Forces in the Middle East, the Congo and elsewhere.

## Rights and Responsibilities in NATO

Canada as a member of NATO and NORAD has a special right to speak and be heard concerning the rights and responsibilities which the three principal Western powers - Great Britain, the United States and France - possess and discharge in Berlin.

Canada in NATO is responsible for its share of European defence, to which we contribute an army brigade and an air division. Under NATO we have undertaken to regard an armed attack against Berlin as if it were an attack on Canada. We have further responsibilities under NORAD for our share of North American defence.

What are the unchallengeable facts regarding West Berlin? The Western world is confronted with a crisis over international agreements which have been repudiated by the U.S.S.R. which it endeavours to justify by specious and trumped-up allegations.

The agreements are clear as to the rights of the signatories. The pertinent documents include the Protocol and the Zones of Co-operation dated September 12, 1944, and confirmed on June 5, 1945, in which three zones, not only in the territory of Germany but also in Berlin, were set up for occupation by the forces of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States respectively. Subsequently, a French Zone was introduced.





## Record of Soviet Obstruction

The first attempt at repudiation of these agreements was made by the U.S.S.R. in June 1948, when a blockade was imposed. Had that blockade been successful, it would have strangled Berlin. Berlin was saved by an airlift unique in history. Finally, in May 1949, by agreement between the Western powers and the U.S.S.R., provision was made that all restrictions imposed before the blockade by the U.S.S.R. on communications, transportation and trade would be removed and ended. This was followed by a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which, on June 30, 1949, issued a communiqué containing, inter alia, the following provisions:

"...The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States agree that the New York agreement of May 1949 shall be maintained. Moreover, in order to promote further the aims set forth in the preceding paragraphs and in order to improve and supplement this and other arrangements and arrangements as regards the movement of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern Zone and the Western Zones and between the Zones and Berlin and also in regard to transit, the occupation authorities, each in his own Zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to ensure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water, and road transport for such movement of persons and goods and such communications by post, telephone and telegraph...."

These arrangements were arrived at in the mistaken belief and assumption by the Western allies that wartime co-operation with the Soviet Union would continue and that the occupation of Germany would not be indefinite.

These agreements are still in effect and the Western rights of occupation and access are beyond question. Yet, Mr. Khrushchov has declared his intention to terminate these agreements unilaterally and to transfer Soviet responsibility under the Four Power Agreement to the East German régime, professing that Soviet withdrawal is not intended to interfere with Western rights in West Berlin.

## If Khrushchov Manoeuvre Succeeds

His action in practice would mean that in the future the Western powers would be obliged to apply to the East German régime for rights of access to West Berlin. For the West to be compelled to deal with the East German régime without guarantees would be to place Western rights of access in jeopardy. To agree to the Soviet demands would be to consign the West Berliners to the mercy of their Communist compatriots.



Western rights have given rise to responsibilities for the future of two and a half million people living in West Berlin who are entirely dependent for their freedom on the continuance of access to and with the West. There are those who would have us believe that freedom for West Berlin would not be threatened if the West yielded to pressures to withdraw. How can such an argument be accepted against the background of the blockade of 1949, and the Communist pressure which has been steadily mounting to the point of danger in recent weeks?

Retreat in Berlin, by the sacrifice of the pledged word, would mean that the pledged word of the West would be called in question everywhere in the world with consequences impossible to calculate for the future of freedom.

These are the reasons why the freedom of the people of West Berlin is not negotiable.

#### West Berlin Freedom Not Negotiable

I have heard it contended that we should not take a firm stand on West Berlin because (to put it bluntly) Canada's sacrifice in two World Wars against Germany should deny any attitude but one of indifference to the people of that city.

That argument, with its understandable appeal to those who served and sacrificed, fails to recognize that Western eviction from West Berlin would have repercussions throughout Germany and Europe. It could find freedom in Canada and everywhere in the world wounded dangerously if not beyond recovery. In any event it would mean that the Communist world would be strengthened physically and psychologically and would encourage new and further crises elsewhere in the world wherever it suited the Kremlin's purpose to create them.

The U.S.S.R. contends that German militarism is not dead, that West Germany has aggressive designs and that the NATO alliance may be drawn into military action to recover former German territory. The answer of the West is that West Germany is solemnly pledged to seek reunification by peaceful means only, and that German forces are fully integrated within NATO -- an alliance dedicated wholly to the defence of freedom.

Moreover, as with all NATO governments, the West German Government has made it clear that it is prepared to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. and to consider all reasonable proposals. Within and not beyond these limits, members of NATO are bound by treaty obligations.

The North Atlantic Treaty re-affirmed the solemn pledge which binds all members of the United Nations -- the most solemn of all pledges in the Charter of the United Nations. That pledge is:





"to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

We must seek to find a basis for settlement. President Kennedy on July 25 wisely called for "a search for peace...in quiet exploratory talks, in formal or informal meetings", and a willingness "to discuss international problems with any and all nations that are willing to talk -- and listen -- with reason".

The freedom of West Berlin, and the right of the West to uphold that freedom, are not negotiable, but there are things that are. I would like to be free to tell you what is negotiable, but particulars cannot be discussed before negotiations begin. There are views which can be exchanged in private from government to government which, if revealed, would tend either to raise tensions or freeze negotiating positions.

#### General Observations

Canada has made known her general view but there are certain additional observations that can be made,

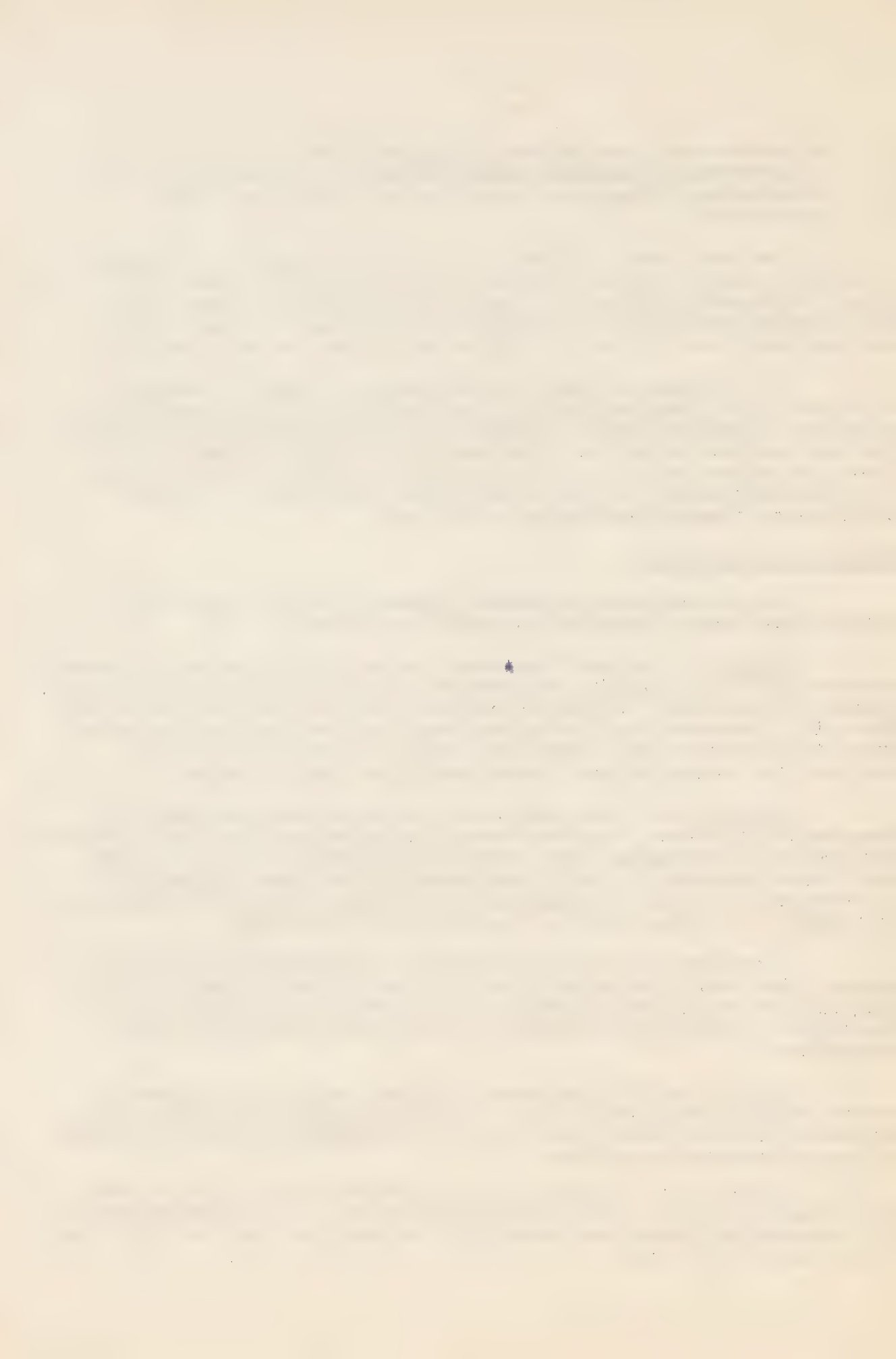
First, it is most important to maintain informal diplomatic contact with the U.S.S.R. We must be ready to define more precisely Western objectives. We cannot overlook that the Soviet Union has its vital interests and its objectives, and we must seek to understand them even though sometimes Soviet policies (as in their decision to resume nuclear tests) defy the laws of reason.

Second, the West must work out an agreed and flexible negotiation position. An attitude of realism demands that government may gradually disengage from unnecessarily rigid positions. We must guard against the peril and danger of too much rigidity and in needlessly taking up dangerous and perhaps impossible positions when what is at stake may be the survival of mankind.

I welcome the news announced on August 30 by President Kennedy that the foreign ministers of the United States, United Kingdom, France and West Germany are to meet on September 14 in Washington to hold consultations on the Berlin crisis in this connection.

Third, the NATO governments should not only exchange tentative ideas with each other but they should also discuss the problem of Berlin with other friendly governments, including those of the uncommitted countries.

Fourth, the Charter of the United Nations declared that the primary purpose of the United Nations is to be the maintenance of international peace and security. We must be ready to make use of the United Nations.



Fifth, our preparations to uphold vital interests in Berlin should not divert attention from the supreme task of responsible statesmanship, which is to reach agreement for an acceptable and just settlement with the Soviet Union. We should not expect to gain all our ends. Any final solution is bound to contain elements distasteful to the West as well as features unpalatable to the U.S.S.R. The nations of the West, sustained by the justice of their cause, are called upon to fashion stability out of turmoil and peace out of negotiation.

Sixth, we must not exclude the periculuous possibility that negotiations can fail, and we must prepare accordingly to maintain strong defences.

Seventh, the U.S.S.R. is putting pressure on the neuralgic point of Berlin and probing Allied steadiness. At this crucial time there is need for solidarity, adherence to principle, courage and calmness of spirit.

### Calm Resolution Essential

The crisis demands calm resolution without provocative hysteria. No leader in the West advocates a head-on collision. To do so would be insane and suicidal. In the Berlin situation lie the ingredients of mortal danger unless strength is joined with sanity and goodwill to preserve the peace and the right.

"The secret of freedom is a brave heart". It was true when Pericles uttered these words. It is true today.

The Western nations must stand ready to negotiate, but, if an atmosphere of threats and tensions prevails, negotiations will not be profitable. There would be a peaceful solution if the U.S.S.R. has no intention to change the social order in West Berlin; if it does not intend to cut the links between West Berlin and West Germany, or to attempt to impose a settlement in violation of fundamental democratic principles. The Soviet leaders say they have no such intention.

### Problems of Outer Space

Urgency for international action on the use of outer space has been intensified by the decision of the U.S.S.R. of two days ago to resume tests of nuclear weapons. The U.S.S.R. has boasted that new bombs may be produced with a yield equivalent of 100 million tons of TNT, and that rockets similar to those used in orbital space flights by Russian astronauts can be used to deliver nuclear bombs to any point on the globe. These terror-laden declarations coupled with the earlier threats that platforms in space could be set up from which missiles could be launched emphasize the urgency of international agreement by the United Nations without delay.





Outer space should be available for peaceful purposes for all nations great and small, and outlawed for military uses; an international ban should be placed on the mounting of armaments on orbital satellites, and no planet or other body in space should be appropriated by any nation.

Without such a law outer space may well be exploited by the U.S.S.R. for aggressive purposes.

Lawyers, by reason of their training and traditions, must give leadership in striving to bring about the Rule of Law internationally.

The Rule of Law is always on the side of Freedom. Its absence is a prelude to tyranny.

Ovid used these words:

"Inde datae leges ne firmior omnia posset....  
Laws are made that the stronger may not at  
all times prevail."

Edmund Burke, the fearless exponent of the principles of democratic government, echoed similar sentiments centuries later in his famous speech impeaching Warren Hastings:

"Law and arbitrary power are in eternal enmity."

While cynics agree with Alfred Zimmermann's dictum that international law is the diplomatic cloak to be worn or discarded at will, lawyers realize from history that the true expression of legal experience is that the framework of freedom and security is firmly laid nationally when law operates to tame power and maintain justice. It could be equally true internationally if nations could agree to settle disputes by the arbitrament of law.

But, of course, we all realize that much of what I have said need not have been said had the rule of law been applied internationally and had the Berlin problem been submitted to the International Court of Justice.

I believe the case of the West would be unanswerable and that view was expressed by President Kennedy in these words:

"If anyone doubts the legality of our rights in Berlin, we are ready to have it submitted to international adjudication."

I have spoken of international problems which affect all mankind which I know, because of their nature, are of particular interest to those who interpret the law.



The members of the Canadian Bar Association have as well a national task to foster a corporate soul preserving the strength of character and health of the Bar, and the dignity, independence, integrity and the strength of character of the Canadian Bench.

The Bar must, in the words of Rufus Choate:

"be fired by the spirit of liberty, and yet to hold fast the sentiments of order and reverence, and the duty of subordination; that it has resisted despotism, and yet taught obedience; that it has recognized and vindicated the rights of man, and yet has reckoned it always among the most sacred and most precious of those rights to be shielded and led by the divine nature and immortal reason of law; -that it appreciates social progression and contributes to it, and ranks in the classes and with the agents of progression, yet evermore counsels and courts permanence and conservatism and rest."

I might add that in relations between nations the legal profession has an equal responsibility. The building of an International World at Law based on the fact,

"that it (law) loves light better than darkness, and yet, like the eccentric or wise man in the old historian, has a habit of looking away as the night wanes to the western sky, to detect there the first streaks of returning dawn."

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CANADA.

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 61/10

## REVIEW OF WORLD CRISES

A Speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard C. Green, to the House of Commons in Committee of Supply on September 7, 1961.

... Today we meet in the Canadian House of Commons at a time of deep crisis. ... For some weeks tension has been increasing steadily over Berlin, and within the last week the Premier of the Soviet Union has announced a resumption of nuclear tests. In addition to that, he has stated that his country can develop a nuclear bomb with the power of 100 million tons of TNT, and that such a bomb could then be hurled by rocket to any target in the world.

It was very interesting to read the first reports of this shocking statement. ... I refer in particular to one which is contained in the Ottawa Journal of September 2. It is a dispatch from Moscow reporting an interview Premier Khrushchov held with two members of the British Labour Party. To them he is reported as having declared that he had decided to resume the testing of nuclear weapons in order to shock the Western powers into negotiations on Germany and disarmament. In amplifying that statement, he apparently said that by taking a tough line he hoped to make the Atlantic alliance agree to merging the discussions at Geneva on a nuclear test ban treaty with negotiations for general and complete disarmament.

There is no doubt that world opinion has been profoundly shocked by the statement and also by the actions which followed so quickly on the heels of the statement. I refer to the conducting of four nuclear tests in the atmosphere, where of course the radiation and fall-out are of the maximum degree. The United States has now decided that in the face of these actions by the Soviet Union, it must undertake nuclear tests, although they are not of the same type and are reported as being such that they do not produce fall-out. They will be tests in the laboratory and tests underground.



In the meantime a very statesmanlike step was taken by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan of the United Kingdom when they appealed to the Soviet Premier on September 3 in the following words:

"The President of the United States of America and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom propose to Chairman Khrushchov that their three governments agree, effective immediately, not to conduct nuclear tests which take place in the atmosphere and produce radioactive fall-out. Their aim in this proposal is to protect mankind from the increasing hazards from atmospheric pollution and to contribute to the reduction of international tensions.

"They urge Chairman Khrushchov to cable his immediate acceptance of this offer and his cessation of further atmospheric tests.

"They further urge that their representatives at Geneva meet not later than September 9 to record this agreement and report it to the United Nations. They sincerely hope that the U.S.S.R. will accept this offer, which remains open for the period indicated.

"They point out that, with regard to atmospheric testing, the United States and the United Kingdom are prepared to rely upon existing means of detection, which they believe to be adequate, and are not suggesting additional controls. But they reaffirm their serious desire to conclude a nuclear test ban treaty applicable to other forms of testing as well, and regret that the U.S.S.R. has blocked such an agreement."

As yet there has been no reply to that appeal, and I am sure I speak for all members of the House when I say that we still hope Premier Khrushchov will agree to the proposal which has been made.

In my opinion, ... the great tragedy of 1961 has been that Soviet leaders have not understood or have ignored the fact that President Kennedy and his top advisers have, from the start of their administration, genuinely desired to bring about a reduction in world tension. We know that for a fact because of our contacts with these United States leaders.

For Canadians it is so important at this time not to add fuel to the flames with the world hovering on the brink of a nuclear war. We must do our utmost to help to reduce tension, and the Government has been doing that during the recent very serious weeks. We must not lose our heads but must show Canadian common sense. Common sense is one of the finest qualities in the Canadian character, and now is the time to remember this and to show that common sense in our talk and in our actions.





In addition, we must continue our idealistic approach to world affairs. Because the situation is serious is no excuse for Canadians to abandon the idealistic approach they have had down through their history. These attributes have been shown by Canadians for a long time. Such is our record, and this is what is expected of us now by all nations, including the nations in the Communist camp. A few weeks ago in Geneva, I had a brief talk with Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. There was, of course, a certain amount of banter but finally he said: "I know that Canada stands for peace". That is our reputation in world affairs, and it is a very good reputation to have.

### Factors in World Situation

Today I propose to deal with certain material factors in the present world situation. Ordinarily I would go on to cover various other subjects which probably are of equal importance, but I plan today to deal with the facts relative to the present serious situation and later during the discussion of the estimates I shall try to deal with these other subjects.

First of all let me deal with nuclear tests. The tremendous world interest in nuclear tests is because people are rightly afraid of the effects of radiation and fall-out. They remember what happened at Hiroshima and they know that the damage and destruction would be infinitely greater in a nuclear holocaust with the present hydrogen bombs. They are worried about the effect not only on themselves but on the generation to come.

For this reason, and also in the hope that an agreement to ban nuclear tests would be a long step toward a general disarmament agreement, the three nuclear powers, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, decided nearly three years ago to try to work out a nuclear test ban agreement. France did not participate in that conference and, I think unfortunately, in the intervening period set off certain nuclear blasts, although the other three countries until last week maintained a moratorium on any further testing.

This conference held its 339th meeting this week and it meets again on Saturday, September 9, in Geneva. Up to the end of last year there had been great progress made in these negotiations. Scientists of the three countries had met and reported on various ways of checking tests, and the delegates had agreed to many paragraphs of a test-ban treaty. Incidentally, at the United Nations last year there were two resolutions passed dealing with the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. One of them contained the operative paragraph:

"Urges the states concerned in these negotiations --"

(The reference is to the negotiations at Geneva)

"-- to continue their present voluntary suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons."



That resolution was sponsored by Austria, India and Sweden and was adopted by a vote of 89 in favour, including Canada, none against and four abstentions. Another resolution, sponsored by India and 25 other countries, contained the following operative paragraph:

"Urges the states concerned in the Geneva negotiations to continue their present voluntary suspension of the testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and requests other states to refrain from undertaking such tests."

That resolution was adopted by a vote of 83 in favour, including Canada, none opposed and 11 abstentions.

This year for some reason or other -- I really do not understand why -- the Delegate of the Soviet Union to the conference in Geneva became intransigent. It was really impossible to make any further progress.

#### The "Troika" Proposal

The United States and Great Britain submitted revised proposals meeting many of the objections which had been taken by the Soviet Delegate, but these were not even adequately discussed by the Soviet Representative. He was insistent on the troika principle for controlling the test ban under which principle there would be one representative of the U.S.S.R. one representative of the Western side and one neutral, and was also insistent that the whole question of nuclear tests should be taken out of the conference and put into a general conference on disarmament. However, the conference still goes on. The Western side have refused to take steps to break it off, and I believe have acted very wisely in so doing.

At the United Nations in 1959 Canada sponsored a resolution calling for more adequate reporting on radiation and for additional steps to warn the people of the world about the effects of radiation as well as further action along that line. The resolution was co-sponsored by ten other nations and was finally adopted by unanimous vote on November 21, 1959. We offered to conduct in Canada tests of samples of air, soil, water, food and bone collected in nations which did not have the scientific facilities for carrying out such tests. In the intervening period arrangements have been made with Burma, Malaya, Ghana and Pakistan for Canada to carry out such tests. We have had to build up staff in Canada to do this work. We have extended our facilities and everything has now been prepared with this end in view.

As a result of the resolution, increased attention has been given to radiation problems internationally. For example, 12 other states have offered their facilities in the same way Canada did. These include the United Kingdom, the United States,





Australia, France, Norway, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, Israel, the Soviet Union, Argentina and Italy, in addition to the International Atomic Energy Agency and the World Health Organization. There has been a marked increase in the number of member countries supplying the United Nations with data on fall-out levels. I think we can be proud of the results that have followed from the initiative taken in 1959.

In addition we have made it perfectly clear for a long time that the Canadian Government is opposed to nuclear tests of any kind. That was done in order that there would be no misunderstanding and that every country would know exactly where we stood. We see no reason for Canada to change that policy.

In the present situation, with the Soviet Union conducting these tests in the way it has been, there can be no doubt that the responsibility for this backward step must be placed at their door. The United States has said that it now proposes to carry out tests. I think in fairness every Hon. Member of the Committee would agree with me that the United States could not sit by indefinitely while the Russians were proceeding with their tests; but naturally we regret that it has been deemed necessary for the United States to announce the resumption of tests at this time. Canada on this problem will endeavour to further an agreement banning tests. That may not be an objective easily reached, but this is the target at which we will be aiming.

### Berlin Crisis

Having dealt with nuclear testing, I turn now to the situation in Berlin and Germany. I am sure all Hon. Members of the Committee and the Canadian people generally will join with me in supporting the clear-cut, analytical and statesmanlike speech made by the Prime Minister of Canada in Winnipeg on September 1. I see by the press that the Leader of the Opposition has said he agrees with the attitude adopted in that speech by our Prime Minister. It would be tantamount to gilding the lily for me to attempt today to go over the same ground which was covered by the Prime Minister on that occasion. I merely point out that for many months there have been warnings by the Soviet Union that there would be a peace treaty signed with East Germany and there have been various threats, not all confined to one side, incidentally.

Threats do not obtain very good results. Perhaps this is one of the ways in which the leaders of the Soviet Union misunderstand the people on the Western side. The Soviet cannot obtain results by threatening the Canadians, the British, the people of the United States or other Western nations. We have been threatened before, and have met those threats with the proper action. That is the reason we are in active business in the world today. We do not back down in the face of threats.





There is an election campaign under way in West Germany which tends to add to the confusion with respect to the situation in Berlin. Voting takes place on September 17, ten days from now. The leader of the main opposition party is the mayor of West Berlin. I suppose knowing elections as we do, we might have expected that there would be a great many statements made which might not have been made the day after the election.

I also draw attention to the flood of refugees from East Germany into West Germany. This is a very significant factor. It shows more clearly than a million words could do what the people in East Germany think of the régime in that country. Of course it has had a very damaging effect on the image of Communism which is being portrayed to other nations of the world.

### Kennedy on Berlin

Let me say a word also about President Kennedy's stand on Berlin. A few weeks ago he made a speech ... in which he set out the position on which the Western world would stand. I think it was wise to do that in order that there could be no misunderstandings, no miscalculations, as are supposed to have happened in the case of both the First and Second World Wars. He went further and said that the United States was willing and anxious to enter into negotiations about this whole question, and that too was very wise. Our own Prime Minister has said the same thing and has stressed the need for negotiations. At one stage or another all parties have said that there must be negotiations in an attempt to iron out this difficult problem.

Our policy today on Berlin and Germany is that an attempt must be made to settle it around the table. There are many channels and methods for exploring with the Soviet Union possible grounds of agreement. Partly to this end the foreign ministers of the three major Western powers and of West Germany will be meeting in Washington on September 14, ... to discuss further the steps which may be taken to reach a satisfactory agreement with the Soviet Union. Similarly, consultations will continue in the North Atlantic Council -- and there have been many consultations in that Council during the last few weeks -- about peaceful solutions to this dangerous problem in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Through these discussions with our allies and in negotiations with the Soviet Union, it is hoped that it will be possible to reach an honourable accommodation with the Soviet. Canada certainly will do everything in her power to help bring about negotiations, and will do her part to see that they are brought to a successful conclusion.





## State of NATO

The third material factor with which I wish to deal briefly is the position of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Today I would think there are not very many Canadians who believe that NATO is superfluous, and that it does not have a very important part to play in the world situation. So often it is forgotten that this is a defensive alliance. It was not set up for purposes of aggression. We know that the countries of that alliance do not believe in aggression. It was set up to defend Western Europe and the North Atlantic area. It is so important that that organization be kept strong....

In recent months discussions in the NATO Council have greatly improved, and I am glad to be able to announce that on Monday next we shall have in Canada Mr. Dirk U. Stikker, the distinguished Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He will be here for a two-day conference with Canadian ministers, and this will give us an opportunity to review the whole NATO situation. Mr. Stikker took on this difficult post just a few months ago; he has been making a great success of that work, and we shall welcome him very warmly when he pays his first visit to Canada.

I think Canada must state once again that she believes in the equality of membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There is always the danger of the bigger nations trying to set up a sort of executive or control body. A few months ago there was concern over a possible three-nation executive, a three-nation triumvirate directing NATO. Now, with the Berlin crisis, West Germany has been taking part in the various discussions on Berlin with the United States, the United Kingdom and France. I think we must take care to see that there is not a four power group assuming executive powers in the Organization.

At the last meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty foreign ministers, we were very pleased to find that there was practically unanimous opinion that there was no incompatibility in the member nations of NATO taking independent stands in the United Nations, particularly on peace keeping activities of the United Nations and on appeals to world opinion. Canada has never believed that membership in NATO should restrict her activities in the United Nations.

## Problem of Disarmament

A fourth material factor today is the question of disarmament. ... Canada was a member of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee which was torpedoed by the five Communist members in June of last year. Two months later, with the United States, we were able to bring the question before the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations and to obtain a unanimous resolution there that negotiations should be resumed. Subsequently we brought in





a resolution at the United Nations General Assembly last fall, which was designed to help get negotiations under way again. That resolution was co-sponsored by 18 other nations.

During the meeting in London this spring, the prime ministers of the Commonwealth issued a very significant statement on the question of disarmament. This was particularly helpful because of the membership of the Commonwealth. The prime ministers came from practically every continent and they had varying opinions. They did not agree on all things. But on this statement on disarmament they were unanimous and issued a communiqué in respect thereof. I think in the days ahead as work proceeds on disarmament this Commonwealth resolution will be of great importance.

At the session of the United Nations which ran over into the spring of 1961, it was finally agreed that the problem of disarmament and all pending proposals relating to it, which included the Canadian resolution, would be stood over until the session of the General Assembly in the fall of this year. In addition the United States and the Soviet Union agreed that they would sit down and try to work out a negotiating group, as well as general principles for negotiations, on the question of disarmament.

Since the spring there have been discussions between the representatives of these two great powers. Canada has throughout warmly approved this attempt to reach agreement on a suitable forum for resuming disarmament negotiations and a satisfactory set of directives to guide the negotiators. We have been kept closely in touch with all that has gone on at each of the meetings, and here again the United States has made a real attempt to devise a satisfactory basis. It has been flexible in its approach during these two-nation discussions.

The talks, of course, have been confidential and it is not possible to reveal the substance of the matters discussed. While they have not achieved their goal, the differences between the two sides have been clarified. Yesterday the United States and the Soviet Union were meeting in New York on this question of disarmament.

The last few days ... have seen barely-concealed threats which, as I have said, we must meet squarely. This situation, however, does not mean that we should downgrade our efforts to further the cause of disarmament. On the contrary far-reaching measures on disarmament are now more vital than ever if we are to avoid even sharper East-West conflicts in a world which daily sees the development of more frightening weapons. We must recognize clearly that, until a realistic basis for negotiation is established, we will continue to run the most dangerous risk of all, the risk of nuclear war.





## New Western Plan

During the past months Canada has taken an active part in the drafting of a new Western disarmament plan. Throughout this period the United States and the other countries which represented the West on the Ten-Nation Committee have been in close consultation. The other members of the Western alliance who were not on the Committee have also had an opportunity to express their views on the new plan. The contents of this plan cannot be revealed at this time, but it does constitute a significant improvement over previous Western proposals. We have been represented during these discussions by Lieutenant-General E.L.M. Burns, who has played a very large part in the field of disarmament for a long time and who, I suggest, has no peer anywhere in the world in this particular field.

Many of our suggestions have been accepted in the working out of this new plan. A great deal of effort has been put into trying to meet the desires expressed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference to ensure the maximum amount of disarmament in the shortest possible time. Full consideration has already been given to the reasonable Soviet proposals.

This new Western plan will be put forward for negotiation, and not on a "take it or leave it" basis. The Western powers are willing to take into account any further suggestions the Soviet Union may have, provided they reflect a genuine willingness to arrive at a realistic and properly safeguarded disarmament programme.

At the session of the General Assembly which opens on September 19, Canada will work for the endorsement of this new Western plan by the widest possible number of states and we will do our best to ensure that any negotiating body which may be agreed upon will have close relationship with the United Nations. We believe that the most important objective in the field of disarmament is to get negotiations started again just as quickly as possible.

## Belgrade Conference

Then, I should like to say a few words about the unaligned-nations conference which met over the week end in Belgrade. There you had 25 neutral nations, some of whom were not very friendly towards the West if one can judge by their actions in recent years. The representatives of these nations came from various continents to try to work out some plan to help reduce tension in the world. I grant that a good deal of time was spent in attacking the question of colonialism and issues which affected particular nations. I believe that the press reports of the meetings of these unaligned countries have not done justice to the significance of their reaction to the questions of Berlin and the resumption of nuclear testing. The despatch which came out during that conference after





the Soviet announcement that nuclear tests would be resumed is contained in one of our newspapers under this heading: "Neutrals Rap A Testing; Urge Berlin Talks."

It is very important that that should have been the reaction in Belgrade. I think, for example, that the statements made by Prime Minister Nehru have been and will be very helpful in bringing about some solution of these terrible problems. I learned the hard way at the United Nations, when dealing with our resolution on disarmament last year, that there are a good many countries which will not stand up and be counted for fear of antagonizing the United States. There are a great many others who will not stand up and be counted for fear of antagonizing the Soviet Union. As I say, these neutral countries do not like to take a stand if it can possibly be avoided, yet we have witnessed the sharp reaction of these 25 neutral nations to the resumption of testing by the Soviet Union and also to the question of Berlin.

Another important factor in the present situation is the attitude of the new nations. We are living in an era in which there has been a greater expansion of freedom, a greater launching of new nations, than at any other time in history. From Asia and in Africa the young leaders of these new nations are coming over to New York, to the United Nations, and are taking their part in the deliberations. They are vitally interested in building up their own countries. They have no use whatever for the cold war because they are so busy and have so many problems of their own. They do not want to be bothered with the cold war. They know that if the cold war ever gets hot they will get little economic assistance from either the Western world or the Communist world. These new nations have an important part to play in the world today. I believe that their opinion as expressed in the United Nations in the next few weeks may have a good deal to do in bringing about a reduction of tension and in putting pressure behind the great powers for a settlement of these problems.

### Colonialism Still an Irritant

The new nations are all extremely sensitive on the question of colonialism. They have an emotional reaction when that question is under debate and this reaction is understandable. We would have had the same reaction perhaps a hundred years ago. The Soviet never loses an opportunity to try to play upon and to take advantage of that reaction. Last year they introduced a resolution attacking the so-called colonial powers, demanding that all colonies be freed before the end of 1961, and insisting on target dates being set for each country. I do not doubt that they will be back at that same performance in the next session of the General Assembly.

However, this is one field in which the Commonwealth does not need to take any advice or any criticism from the Soviet Union. Last year our own Prime Minister spiked that attack in the United Nations by his great speech in the opening days of the session when





he pointed out the situation in such countries as Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. I may say that one is amazed at the nerve of the Soviet representatives in coming to New York and talking about colonialism and the sins of the colonial powers. I marvel that they have the gall to take that position. However, certainly in this particular field, the Commonwealth in our own time in recent years -- and I am thinking of 1961 and 1962 -- has been and is showing perhaps the greatest statesmanship that has ever been shown by a great power in this world. Tanganyika is being launched on December 9, and the West Indies Federation next year. Shortly after that, probably, Uganda and Kenya will be launched. These latter two may come in with Tanganyika to form a federation of Eastern Africa. Other colonies under the British flag are to get independent government in the same way at the earliest possible date and just as quickly as trained leaders can be provided for those countries. We may have some extremely interesting discussions on this question of colonialism during the coming session of the United Nations.

#### U.S.S.R. and "World Opinion"

Finally, may I say this. The special material factor in the world today is the United Nations, and in particular the session which commences later this month. I have no doubt that nuclear tests and the question of Berlin will be discussed during that session as well as many other issues with which I shall deal later on in this debate on the estimates. We must never forget that the United Nations is the best place we have in which to focus world opinion. The big question in my mind is this. Have the Soviet Union gone so far that they are now prepared to ignore world opinion? Hitherto they have been playing up to other nations and trying to get support from other nations all over the world, just as the United States has been doing. In their statement announcing that they were going to have nuclear tests, they actually said this was a great movement to help peace and they appealed to the uncommitted nations on that basis. How they could justify that argument I do not know either. However, if they have decided to ignore world opinion, we are in for extremely serious trouble; there can be no mistake about that fact. Let us hope that the leaders of that great country will be sensitive to world opinion, and that they will not simply ignore it and decide to go their own way seeking world domination.

In my opinion ... it is more than ever vital that Canada support the United Nations. This is no time for belittling that world organization. Some people say, "Oh, look at the mess it has made in the Congo". May I say this. Without the United Nations in the Congo there would have been blood feuds there and tribal wars, with thousands and thousands of people slaughtered during the whole of last year. This situation probably would have spread to adjoining areas. The situation would have been disastrous and might well have brought on a world war. The United Nations moved in without any precedent to follow, without trained personnel to do the job. They moved in or recruited a United Nations force and





today there is a government in the Congo. They are having many troubles. They do not function as efficiently as does the Canadian Government, I admit. Of course, it would be difficult for any other government to do that. However, they have a government and I believe that the problems are going to be worked out as a result of the leadership and the action of the United Nations. I am sure we are all proud that Canada has played such a significant part in the Congo and that we are one of the three European and North Atlantic countries serving on the Congo Committee.

### UN Mankind's Main Hope

The United Nations today is the main hope of mankind. If it grows and succeeds, there will be world order. If it fails, there will be world destruction. That is the choice. I would hope that all Canadians will rally behind the United Nations at this time as they have never done before, although our people have always been supporters of that body.

In conclusion, I repeat what I said at the beginning. This House of Commons is meeting in a time of deep crisis. In times such as these a nation shows its calibre. Canada has done so on more than one occasion. We remember Canada in the First War. We remember Canada in the Second War, the June day 21 years ago, when France was falling and when our then Minister of Defence was killed in a terrible air crash. It looked as though the United Kingdom would be invaded. I do not believe that in my lifetime there has ever been a darker day than that particular Monday. But no Canadian Member of Parliament had a thought in his head that there was going to be any surrender, that we were not going to face that situation and were going to win through. I know that Canada will show her calibre and her mettle in these present trying times.

The road ahead will be hard. Perhaps we have had enough of the soft life anyway. But the road ahead is certainly going to be hard and there will be tension for a long, long time. We might just as well face that fact. From Canadians courage will be required, both physical and moral, and sacrifice; and I believe above all, a return to our deep abiding fundamental faiths. If we face this challenge we will win through and the result may very well be to make our nation one of the leading nations in the world.







ANADA

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 61/11

### FREEDOM EAST AND WEST

Speech by Prime Minister, John G. Diefenbaker,  
to the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association,  
Halifax, August 15, 1961

... An uncontrolled press, and a press that is free and untrammelled, represents the main streets of Canadian life, a press that is unsusceptible to sensationalism and faithful to the need of the community it serves. It is significant that you have chosen Halifax for your Annual Convention because it was here in 1835 that Joseph Howe launched a campaign against the unlimited authority of the executive council of his newspaper, the Nova Scotian. He could not get any lawyers to represent him, so he represented himself, and was successful. Here too was the home of the first newspaper published in the English language in Canada. ...

... This organization, representative of the power of the Canadian people in their communities, has a mission in the preservation of those things that contribute not only to the greatness of the nation today but the kind of Canada I see in the future. In other words, you build freedom by free and vigorous expression of public opinion. I am not going to define freedom to you in the ordinary terms that are used. Everyone has his or her definition.

Freedom to me is a simple thing to define. Freedom to me is not the right to do wrong. Freedom to me is the right to be wrong. That is the essence of the freedom for which we stand today. The right to choose one's own life path, freedom of assembly, the privilege of choosing those who will govern us, the kind of house in which we will live, the kind of church in which we will worship, the employer who hires us -- these are the principles upon which our democracy is built.

### Communist Version of Freedom

All of these come to mind because in the last few days Mr. Khrushchov has issued a draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the years ahead. I think the press of Canada should give extensive coverage to that plan. What is



remarkable about it is not so much its promises but what it does not promise. It promises a Utopia but it denies free elections. It promises a degree of democracy but it does not promise to end the secret police. It promises education but there is no reference to freedom of the individual. It promises economic advantage but not freedom of choice. It promises some change in government - that is, from one generation to another or from one leader to another, but it has not yet determined a principle of political succession. In thousands of words there is contemptuous abuse of Western systems of government, of our economies and our efforts to build just and prosperous societies. It says we in the West are decadent; it says we are doomed to failure; it deals with some of the evils of free enterprise of 45, 50 and 100 years ago. It ignores the changes that have taken place in welfare, the cushions that are today applied against economic hardship. It denies the existence of freely-organized labour unions; it denies the freedom of choice that is today available in the Western nations; it says it is ultimately going to destroy us because of these things, many of which are merely historical and no longer exist. It fails to recognize that such structural faults as may be in democracy are diminished regularly by the flexibility of Western society. It promises free rent, free use of public transportation and free holiday camps but it does not give the individual freedom in the selection and use of these free services. It offers free travel without the freedom to travel. It offers plans for a house in which the landlord keeps the only key. Mr. Khrushchov says we are going to be undermined shortly.

I think we can say to Mr. Khrushchov that, as long as there is a free press and free people in the free world, the West is not going to lie down and roll over simply because he tells us in his party programme that we are done for. Mr. Khrushchov speaks of the contradictions in the capitalist society and talks of the Soviet paradise. At the same time we find the other exponent of Communism, China, exhorting the people to work harder, sacrifice more, and be prepared for struggles abroad. Somewhere between Peking and Moscow the wires of Communism are crossed.

I mention what Mr. Khrushchov said in that document on July 31 because in that document are the blueprints of the future. Hitler never wrote more clearly than does Mr. Khrushchov today as he places his plan before the people.

### Spotlight on Berlin

The headlines of today are being drawn in Berlin. The Soviet Union has declared its intention to sign a separate peace treaty with the East German régime and turn over to them all control of access to the city of Berlin unless what is called a "peaceful solution" with the West is achieved by the end of the year. Mr. Khrushchov claims the right with the single stroke of his pen to terminate Western rights in the city which are based firmly on wartime and post-war agreements, unless we accept the kind of agreement that he desires. The free world for the first time is





united. NATO preserves freedom because of the unity of the countries that are joined together in that alliance. Canada's contribution, through the former Prime Minister, my predecessor in office, was very great in the formation of NATO. If it had not been for NATO, the rights of free men long since would have gone. Mr. Khrushchov says that with the single stroke of his pen he will terminate Western rights in the city. The free world, I said, is united. Those rights and responsibilities are ours; we accept them. The people of West Berlin on many occasions have made clear their desire for a democratic way of life and for the continued presence of the Western occupying forces in their city.

Those responsibilities that rest on the shoulders of those that try to give to the free world leadership have been awe-inspiring in recent days. The leaders of the free world have agreed that the West does not intend to betray the trust placed in them by the citizens of West Berlin by turning them over to the tyranny of Communist rule.

### Resilient Policy Needed

The West must pursue a policy which, while demonstrating the unity and determination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to preserve the freedom of the citizens of West Berlin, is at the same time resilient and adaptable to changing conditions; we must be ready to make changes where those changes do not mean the sacrifice of principle. I believe this with all my heart. If in 1913 and 1914 Kaiser Wilhelm had known what the attitude of the countries opposed to him was, there might never have been war; for Lord Grey has said that, if we had not given up negotiation, we would have prevented the war that took place. And again in 1935 and 1939, if the Western nations opposed to Nazi Germany had made it clear where they stood, it is generally agreed today that things might have been different and that war might have been prevented. I believe that if the Western alliance maintains its unity, does not indulge in challenging speeches and shows itself to be possessed of calm determination of purpose, there should be no fear in the days ahead.

### Modern Tale of Two Cities

In the last few days something else has happened. The closing of the border on Sunday between East and West Berlin is a serious incident. Berlin is a modern tale of two cities. The lights of one are too bright for the other. The mightiest empire on earth in area and in potential power has closed the gates to Berlin, not in defence of men, not against the people outside, but in defiance of those within. I think that the very fact that in the last few weeks a horde of people have fled from East Germany to West Germany, and that that horde has in past years been mounting, indicates that all is not as it is claimed to be. If the Soviet system is paradise, why is it the people of West Berlin do not beset the Brandenburg Gate and beseech the Burgomaster of East Berlin for citizenship?





What is clear is that this Communist action has added a new and disturbing element to a situation which already holds dangerous potentialities. It is a matter of serious concern when, by unilateral, illegal, and provocative action, tension is augmented so greatly. The men in the Kremlin should now realize that the crisis they have manufactured has had the effect, not of causing hesitation and disunity among the nations in the Western alliance, but of crystallizing Western strength and Western purpose. I express the hope, and I do so in all seriousness, that Mr. Khrushchov and the Kremlin will not mistake the determination of the West for desperation and will not mistake our defensive preparations for aggressive intent. We do not know desperation nor are our intentions aggressive, but like any prudent householder we are adjusting our insurance to the risks that we must face. I hope that we will be able to engage in positive and constructive negotiations. I hope that the countries of the free world and their peoples will not be overcome by uncertainty, by alarm - yes, by panic. By united resolutions we have to make clear to Mr. Khrushchov the free choice of all members of the NATO alliance. We will not permit him to succeed by any effort to undermine the basic unity of purpose of the free world, or divert us from our determination to preserve the freedom of West Berlin and Western rights of access to that city.

We ask ourselves this question. Why has Mr. Khrushchov's puppet government in East Germany decided to precipitate a crisis at this time by closing the border in derogation of the four-power agreement? This action, I said a moment ago seems to be one of provocation coupled with the desperation born of the failure of East Germany to stem the exodus of East Germans. What are we going to do? What attitude will Canada take? Whatever that stand may be, I want it to be representative of the unity of this nation for the welfare of freedom.

... I can't say to you at this moment what we are going to do, but I can say that everywhere in the Western free world and among the NATO nations unity of action is under continuing and constant review. The leaders in the free world are everywhere in consultation.

In NATO, Canada has a proud record. It has met its military goals in NATO. I believe that all nations belonging to that organization should bring their forces up to strength, not by way of threat but as an indication of the fact that the NATO nations are serious in the stands that they have taken and are united in their stand. NATO, I said a little earlier, has preserved the freedom of the West, and NATO forces must have the best and most effective defence and defence weapons that are available to them. There are some in Canada who advocate we should withdraw from NATO in the event that nuclear weapons are made available for the possession and control of NATO. I believe that to follow that course would be dangerous to the survival of the forces of NATO that are there now, should war begin. And it would be dangerous for the survival of freedom itself.





I know there are those who advocate this. ... Would you in 1961, faced by the overwhelming power of Soviet might in East Germany close to West Berlin with large divisions fully armed, would you place in the hands of those who guard the portals of freedom nothing but bows and arrows? They would stand against overwhelming power - it is as simple as that.

I appreciate very much the opportunity of being here. I thought I ought to place before you not just a speech of words but something in regard to that problem that is close to the hearts of Canadians who in two World Wars sacrificed greatly for freedom's survival. Well, I have endeavoured to place before you something of the picture as I see it. I am not giving you a picture of fear. I am trying to place before you something of those problems which you must share with us and all who have responsibility. It is only through a press, fearless to advocate, fearless to criticize when criticism is unpopular, willing to stand against the things that are popular when they are not beneficial, that freedom reigns. It is only in that way that freedom can survive.

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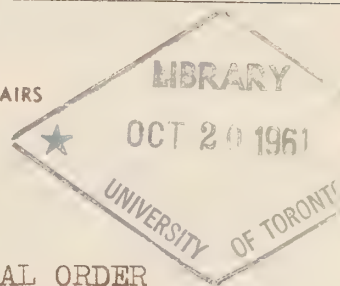
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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 61/13

### THE PROSPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL ORDER

A speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations by Mr. Howard Green, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, on October 3, 1961.

Before I commence my statement, Mr. President, I should like to say how pleased Canadians are that you have been chosen unanimously as President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. Throughout the last few years we have learned to admire you for your friendliness and your great wisdom, and we believe that you have become one of the outstanding statesmen of the United Nations. We are pleased also because you represent Tunisia which, in its terms as a Member of this Organization, has taken such an active and important part. It is most fitting that a Tunisian should have been chosen President of the General Assembly.

We believe too, that it is appropriate that a representative of a nation of Africa should be President of the Assembly at the present time -- that continent which is now the centre of attention for the whole world, a continent whose sons are playing such an active and important role in these halls.

For all these reasons, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on behalf of Canada and to assure you that we shall help you in every way possible during your term of office. It is not an easy time to be President of the General Assembly, but we know that you will fulfil the expectations of your many, many friends.

### Appointment of a new Secretary-General

At no other time in its sixteen years has the United Nations faced so many large issues, some of which, we believe, threaten its very survival. Many of these issues have been placed on the agenda, but the one which immediately confronts us results from the tragic death of the Secretary-General. Before we can deal effectively with any other question some interim arrangement must be made to enable the work of this Organization to be carried on.





The appointment of a Secretary-General is a matter so important that it would require mature reflection even if circumstances were normal, but in the prevailing political atmosphere an early appointment seems out of the question from the Canadian point of view.

But today's circumstances will not allow this Organization to be left any longer without direction. The Congo situation alone demands that an interim arrangement be made at once. Member Governments, such as the Government of Canada, with important commitments in that country have a right and a duty to insist that the United Nations operation be conducted under proper authority. Here we have important negotiations under way at this very time with Katanga, yet with no one here in New York to direct the operations of the Secretariat. That, I suggest, is a foolish situation, but surely there is enough wisdom in this Assembly to meet that situation and to appoint someone on an interim basis. The Congo Committee, made up of eighteen nations, of which Canada is one, has done splendid work here for more than fifteen months past, and yet there is now no one to whom that Committee can give directions. That, I repeat, is the situation which should not be allowed to continue.

No delegation here has expressed disagreement about the urgency of making an interim arrangement. Intensive consultations have already taken place about various possibilities. It is recognized by all -- and I do not believe there is one delegation here that would disagree with the statement that I am about to make -- that there are right here in his hall eminent representatives who have the necessary qualifications and who enjoy the trust and confidence of the Assembly. We should waste no time in selecting one of these widely respected men to take interim charge of the functions and responsibilities of the office of Secretary-General.

We do not expect such an arrangement to be indefinitely prolonged. We see it as a means for keeping the essential work of the Organization going, a means of affording to us the time required to give careful consideration to the appointment of a Secretary-General.

We would expect the interim appointee to have the loyal co-operation of the Secretariat at all levels. No doubt he will have his own working methods and will make his own arrangements for drawing on the advice and experience of the international staff. He may wish to make some adjustment in the Secretariat. He must, however, retain full authority to make the decisions and give the directions which are the sole responsibility of the office he will be filling.

#### Independence of the Secretariat

As for the longer term problem, the Charter calls for the appointment of a single executive. Any change in the nature of the office would require amendment of the Charter. That



does not mean that the composition of the Secretariat should not reflect the changed membership of the United Nations. On the contrary, all Member States have a legitimate interest in ensuring that the main geographical areas have equitable representation. However, no State or group of States should be in a position within the Secretariat to veto the implementation of decisions of any organ of the United Nations.

We stand firmly behind Article 100 of the Charter which provides that the Secretary-General and his staff "shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization". And how essential that is if this United Nations is to live and to expand and to meet the challenge which faces it. An independent international civil service must be preserved if the United Nations is to perform its impartial role.

There is no reason, moreover, why Member States should try to keep control of their nationals in the Secretariat. The appropriate political control of Secretariat activities is exercised by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations. Those organs can give full instructions to the Secretary-General.

As well, we have wisely adopted the practice of establishing advisory committees especially for peace-keeping operations. I referred a few moments ago to the Congo Advisory Committee which we think is an excellent committee; perhaps that is because we are a member of the Committee. These committees afford an additional opportunity for interested States to offer advice and to give political guidance to the Secretary-General in the discharge of his mandates. This is a practice which has proven its worth and one which can be developed further in relation to many activities of the United Nations.

Now I go to deal with five different subjects: Berlin, nuclear testing and radiation, disarmament, outer space, and strengthening the United Nations.

### The Berlin Impasse

First of all, Berlin. Most speakers in this debate have referred to the prevailing crisis over Berlin. The Soviet Union has seen fit to create there a very dangerous situation, where a few months ago no imminent threat to peace existed.

The peoples of the world are watching anxiously the steps which are being taken in the direction of negotiation. I have no doubt at all that it is the universal desire of this Assembly that a settlement in Berlin be negotiated with the least possible delay. Clearly the tension must be reduced and the frightening threat of armed conflict must be removed.





The primary responsibility for solving the Berlin crisis rests with the four occupying Powers in that city, but the United Nations could be called upon to play a role in a Berlin settlement. In any event, the United Nations cannot abdicate its responsibility in relation to any problem which raises acutely the fundamental issue of peace or war.

There are at least three ways in which the United Nations might be of assistance in the Berlin situation.

The first is to focus world attention on the problem and to leave the four Powers in no doubt whatever that they have an obligation to reach a negotiated settlement. This debate is already serving that purpose.

Secondly, if the four Powers agreed, the United Nations could serve in an observer capacity in the whole city and on the access routes. Properly integrated into a four-Power settlement a United Nations presence in the Berlin area would add stability and would restore confidence.

A third possibility is that the United Nations might be asked by the four Powers to assume some responsibility for operating an international regime for the whole city of Berlin. The influence of such an international regime could be strengthened by locating the European office or other agencies of the United Nations in Berlin. If Berlin were internationalized in this way, a heavy burden, it is true, would be placed upon the Organization, but the United Nations should not shrink from assuming the responsibility and accepting any obligations involved.

### The Radiation Peril

I go on to nuclear testing and radiation. During the last two weeks of September, following recent Soviet weapons testing in the atmosphere, the level of radioactive fall-out over one major Canadian city -- Toronto -- jumped by as much as 1,000 times over previous readings. We are making available to the United Nations complete details of Canadian readings but the following figures will demonstrate that there is real cause for the gravest concern.

Whereas in the week ending 10 September the highest level recorded anywhere in Canada was 20 disintegrations per minute per cubic metre, in the next week the following high readings were recorded: Ottawa, 90 units; Montreal, 100 units; Fredericton, 140 units; Windsor, 260 units; and Toronto, 470 units.

Long before this new and hazardous increase in the radiation to which our people are exposed, my Government had made crystal clear in this Assembly and elsewhere that it was unalterably opposed to the testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Now more than ever we are confirmed in our opposition to test explosions, particularly, of course, those which produce radioactive fall-out, whether such tests occur in the atmosphere, in outer space, or elsewhere.



The anxiety which is aroused in Canada by these test explosions is, I believe, shared by peoples everywhere. We take the strongest possible exception to having our present and succeeding generations exposed, through the actions of other States, to the danger of radioactive fall-out. We know that radiation presents a hazard to human health and the more we learn about the extent of its consequences the more disturbed we become.

### Insistence on no Further Testing

In my view, this Assembly and world opinion -- and this is the place to focus world opinion -- must insist that there be no further testing of nuclear weapons. The time has come when it is not sufficient merely to express concern and to record blame. We must find means of compelling the countries responsible to cease the testing of nuclear weapons. Whatever success we may achieve in respect of the other grave issues will, I fear, be of little comfort to mankind if we fail to dispel forever the ominous and lowering clouds of radioactivity which hang over this and unborn generations.

In 1959 this Assembly unanimously endorsed far-reaching proposals, initiated by Canada, for strengthening the important contribution which the United Nations Radiation Committee can make to greater understanding of the extent and nature of the biological effects of radiation. At that time, Canada and about twelve other countries extended an offer of assistance to less well-equipped countries for the analysis of samples they might wish to send to our laboratories -- samples of soil, air, bone and so on. Several have availed themselves of our facilities and today I invite other countries to do so. In addition, the recent sharp increase in the levels of radioactive fall-out in the world makes it all the more essential to support the work of the United Nations Radiation Committee.

The radiation hazard alone is sufficient justification for demanding the cessation of nuclear weapons testing. But there is another reason and that is the spectre of the development, as a result of test explosions, of new and even more terrible weapons, for example, Chairman Khrushchov's one hundred megaton bomb, which might be called the Armageddon bomb. The fact that the leaders of this great nation, the Soviet Union, are even thinking of such a bomb shows the need for an immediate change of direction in world thinking. This is the time to call a halt to this sort of business. Let us all do a right about turn and not look any further at such a terrible prospect.

I am sure that it came as a profound shock to the whole world to learn that the critical negotiations which had gone on for so long in Geneva -- for almost three years -- and had borne so much of the hopes of mankind had been abruptly brought to an end by the Soviet resumption of tests, tests which obviously had been planned for a long time. Such was the Soviet response to





a series of Western proposals which offered further concessions and gave promise of the early conclusion of a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.

These developments demand that this Assembly give the highest priority to considering the permanent cessation of nuclear weapons testing. The progress achieved during three years of arduous negotiations in Geneva must not be sacrificed. At this session we must take positive steps to ensure that without delay the nuclear Powers renew their efforts to agree on a safeguarded treaty which will obligate them to end nuclear weapons testing. Subsequently all other countries should adhere to this treaty.

### Disarmament

I should now like to say a few words about disarmament.

At this session, more than ever before, the question of disarmament requires our urgent attention. The crisis over Berlin and the great anxiety created by the resumption of nuclear weapons tests have brought to every mind the death and destruction which would follow the outbreak of nuclear war. We must check the spiraling competition for supremacy in armaments. That means pressing without delay for vigorous and effective measures of disarmament. After all, the Charter of the United Nations places the responsibility on the shoulders of all delegations present in this hall -- new and old Members alike. To fulfill this obligation we must concentrate on the steps which will lead most directly to concrete measures.

Canada welcomes the agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union on principles to guide negotiations on disarmament. This agreement represents an important accomplishment, but it is only the first step. Substantive negotiations have not been resumed, even though more than a year has passed since the previous talks were broken off in Geneva.

The comprehensive programme for disarmament introduced by President Kennedy a week ago provides a sound basis for serious negotiation. Canada co-operated actively in the preparation of this important new plan. The programme it sets out accords precisely with the principles which have been agreed between the United States and the Soviet Union. I commend this new plan to all Members of the Assembly.

The Soviet Union, as all representatives here know, has also put forward a disarmament plan, the general philosophy of which is explained in the letter (A/4887) of the Soviet Foreign Minister to the President of the Assembly. Delegations may be asking themselves whose plan is the better -- that of the Soviet Union or that of the United States. I suggest that it is unnecessary for this Assembly to decide that question.



In the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva, again in the last session of the General Assembly and in the bilateral discussions this summer between the United States and the Soviet Union, there has been a drawing together of viewpoints, in spite of all the halts and setbacks; the main evidence of this drawing together is the agreed statement on principles which I have mentioned.

Now, there are still important questions relating to disarmament on which the position of the Soviet Union and its allies differs substantially from the position of the Western countries. But I believe that these questions can and must be resolved by a painstaking and business-like negotiation, in which concrete measures and related verification procedures will be examined in detail.

The United States plan is flexible and can accommodate reasonable proposals from the other side, or in fact from any quarter; it is very helpful to have suggestions from any delegation. If the Soviet Union and its allies will demonstrate a similar flexibility and spirit of compromise, it will now be possible to make real progress towards general and complete disarmament.

In their bilateral talks this year, the United States and the Soviet Union could not agree on the composition of the body which should undertake these negotiations. It is therefore incumbent on this Assembly to help reach a decision in this matter -- that is, on the question of what form the negotiating body should have.

The disarmament conference at Geneva in 1960 was conducted by a ten-nation committee. It seems to be generally agreed that the composition of that committee will require some modification. Canada believes that, if negotiations are to be productive and realistic, the negotiating body must have adequate and balanced representation of the major military groupings in the world; this was the principle upon which the Ten-Nation Committee was organized. It will be remembered that that Committee was set up by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and France.

But we also believe that nations which are not aligned with either of the two sides could play a constructive role in the renewed negotiations. With this in mind, we suggested at the last session that an impartial chairman, assisted by one or two other officers from uncommitted countries, could greatly facilitate the work and improve the effectiveness of the negotiations. We are, however, ready to consider other proposals on the question of composition. I believe that it is essential that other nations should be added to the negotiating body. If agreement on composition cannot be reached in the halls of the United Nations, it might very well be worthwhile to call a meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and give it the responsibility of selecting a negotiating group.





Once the composition of a negotiating body has been decided, the Assembly should recommend that negotiations begin at the earliest possible date, on the basis of the principles agreed by the United States and the Soviet Union and on the basis of the plans which have been put forward by both sides. The negotiating body, with its broadened representation, should have a close and effective relationship with the United Nations, because general disarmament must eventually apply to all nations without exception. I think that it is important that the United Nations should be kept in the picture in the disarmament negotiations.

At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, Canada, joined by eighteen other nations, sponsored a draft resolution intended to create such a relationship, as was recalled by the Foreign Minister of Chile in his statement on 28 September. The ideas then advanced may prove useful in facilitating a solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. If we and our co-sponsors do bring forward a revised draft resolution at this session, I hope that it will receive the unanimous support of delegations here. The draft resolution which we presented last year did not get quite that support.

### Outer Space

My second last subject is outer space. During the last year, both the Soviet Union and the United States have successfully launched men into outer space. Space travel and space exploration in manned vehicles may soon be commonplace -- delegates to the General Assembly two or three years from now may be coming in outer space vehicles. While these scientific achievements stir our imaginations we deplore the inability of the United Nations to make progress in regulating the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes. Despite agreement at the fourteenth session -- that is two years ago -- on the composition of an Outer Space Committee, the vital tasks assigned to it remain unattained. The reason for this is that the two Powers whose achievements in outer space have uniquely fitted them for leadership in this field have failed to reach agreement on procedural arrangements -- failed, I believe, to agree on who is to be Chairman, who is to be Rapporteur, and so on. As a result, the Committee has not met. Moreover, to this dispute there has more recently been added a further complication arising out of Soviet insistence that decisions must be taken unanimously.

The Canadian delegation believes that no effort should be spared to have the Outer Space Committee begin its studies without further delay. I read in The New York Times this morning a report from Washington:



## "Joint Space Plan Urged For World

### "U.S. and Soviet Aides Speak at Session in Capital"

The report goes on to say:

"Top officials in the United States and Soviet space programmes appealed today for greater international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of space.

"The appeals were made by Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, deputy director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Dr. Leonard I. Sedov, Chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission on Interplanetary Communication in the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

"They spoke at opening ceremonies of the twelfth World Congress of the International Astronautical Federation."

Now Mr. President, it looks as if the International Astronautical Federation is more progressive and more powerful than the United Nations; down in Washington the Russians and the Americans are able to agree on this -- about doing something concerning outer space. I do suggest that it is time we got busy here and did something about it ourselves.

Unless there is some body of law, outer space could be exploited for aggressive purposes with greatly increased danger for all nations on this earth. Priority should be given to specific studies to determine in particular -- and here I list some of the studies:

- the limits of outer space;
- the rules prohibiting military uses and the appropriation of outer space bodies;
- means for registering and identifying space launchings;
- the allocation of radio frequencies for space research;
- methods for terminating radio transmission from outworn space vehicles --

Apparently, when these space vehicles are outworn they go on transmitting messages:

- rules governing the re-entry into the atmosphere and recovery of space vehicles; and
- principles of legal liability for the damage arising out of national activity in outer space.





These and other important questions are clearly within the terms of reference of the Outer Space Committee, set up two years ago and specifically asked to make preparations for an international scientific conference. In the proper spirit of international scientific collaboration, much benefit would result from such a conference. However, we would not wish preparations for a conference to delay early consideration of the important questions I have mentioned. We hope to see the Outer Space Committee continued in being and given clear instructions to pursue its work energetically.

Should this prove impossible, we must turn our attention to alternative methods of moving forward -- perhaps through various agencies of the United Nations; we should not allow delays over procedure to prevent us from making a new approach to the problems of outer space which are of universal concern and of constantly increasing urgency.

### Strengthening the U.N.

Finally, I come to the question of strengthening the United Nations. I should like to say a few words about the need to strengthen our Organization. It is timely and desirable that we take stock of its worth. The question we must ask ourselves is not, "Do we want a United Nations?" but, "What sort of a United Nations do we want?". Dag Hammarskjold, with characteristic political foresight, placed that question before us in this year's introduction to his annual report.

If we are to maintain an effective United Nations, and if it is not to become just a big debating society, a number of things must happen and changes must be made. Some constitutional adjustments are required which will give rights and opportunities to all Members to exercise the full weight of their influence. There is no doubt that some geographical areas are in present circumstances denied that equitable share of such opportunities. This is why the Canadian Government is firmly in favour of enlarging the Security Council. We see this as the only way in which the composition of those bodies can be adjusted to ensure a properly balanced and equitable representation from all geographical areas.

If sensible adjustments within the various organs are needed, it is even more necessary that the United Nations should have a suitable financial base for its operations in all fields. No satisfactory formula has yet been evolved for meeting the expenses of peace-keeping operations in the Congo and elsewhere. A limit has been reached, I suggest, to the process of raiding one reserve fund to support another. The United Nations -- our United Nations -- is now facing bankruptcy.

Canada has the greatest understanding for those who would pay but cannot, but we have no sympathy for the few who can pay but will not. I believe it would be folly to depart from the basic principle of collective responsibility which has been clearly



established by the Charter. It would be quite unwise, either to give in to the Soviet view that Members need only pay for those undertakings which they like, or to admit the principle that any one State or group of States should make financial contributions disproportionately high.

The aim should be to find a formula which takes into account the difficulties of the less developed countries in paying their full assessment but which spreads the resulting additional burden equitably among the other Member States which are in a position to pay. Our concern about these financial problems flow from a desire to have this Organization act effectively in the field of peace and security as in other fields.

Throughout this statement I have been at pains to emphasize the need to make the United Nations fully effective. I have urged that this international mechanism which we have so carefully assembled and developed down through the years should be strengthened and used to its maximum extent to serve the purposes of the Charter and the needs of Member States. This is a reflection of a firm Canadian view that despite many obstacles and shortcomings, the United Nations has, on the whole, met the challenge of our times. We are proud of the United Nations.

We believe that the United Nations should be dynamic in its approach to the questions which come before it. This Organization must be free to develop if it is to meet new situations. It must not be stagnant. In my view, its capacity can be greatly increased if Member Governments are ready to make fuller use of its possibilities.

At this session, the outlook is darkened by the grave dangers the world is facing and by the serious internal problems of this Organization. Peoples everywhere all over the world are watching these developments fearfully. They are asking themselves whether nuclear war, which in recent years has been considered unthinkable, is now not only being considered possible but is being accepted as inevitable. The gravest danger we face is a drift into a nuclear war. I am sure all members realize this fact. But at this time of tension and danger we must not be dominated by fear and panic. The very seriousness of the situation demands that we keep calm and think clearly about our predicament. Actually I believe this to be the mood of this Assembly.

We have such an immediate responsibility to use our full influence to reduce the causes of tension. To do this we must enable the United Nations to act effectively, and all countries, large and small, must stand firmly behind this world organization.





A Date with Destiny

I think each one of us here at this session has a date with destiny. I do not believe there has ever been a session of the United Nations which held such potentialities for evil and for good. We are all human beings. We all have good motives. I am sure that down in the heart of each representative here, no matter from what country he may come, there is a sincere desire to help mankind. And we have such a wonderful opportunity to do it. What a great challenge. I hope and I am confident that when the story is written of this sixteenth session of the General Assembly, it will be such that each one of us who has been privileged to be here will feel that it was a great honour to be a representative in 1961.

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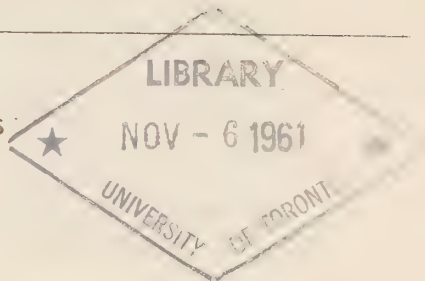


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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 61/14

### THE THREAT OF ATOMIC RADIATION

Statement by Mr. Paul Tremblay, Canadian Ambassador to Chile and Canadian Representative on the Special Political Committee of the United Nations, on October 16, 1961

... When we took up in this Committee just over a week ago the question of allocating priorities to the various items on our agenda, I stressed the urgency of giving consideration to the problem of radiation hazards to human health. At that time several other delegations indicated similar concern that the item on the effects of radiation should be taken up urgently, and it was placed first on our agenda. My delegation now has been joined by 22 others in putting forward a resolution on this subject. The number of delegations which are co-sponsoring this resolution, and the broad geographic distribution reflected in the list of co-sponsors, testify to the depth and extent of international concern about the growing menace of radioactive fall-out. This is also underlined by the many expressions of support for the objectives of our resolution which have come from delegations other than the co-sponsors.

This afternoon I propose to outline somewhat more fully the basis for this widespread apprehension. I should also like to explain the general nature and objectives of our resolution, which reflects the approach to this problem shared by Canada with so many other countries in all parts of the world.

### Canada's Concern Over Radiation Peril

The concern of the Canadian Government about the hazards of radiation is not a recent development. We have been actively represented on the United Nations Scientific Committee, whose annual progress report is now before us, since that Committee was established in 1955. At the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, Canada played a leading part in developing the resolution which detailed the current terms of reference of the Scientific Committee, and sought to intensify the efforts being made to advance man's knowledge about the effects of





radiation. At the same time, having developed in Canada an extensive system of facilities for analyzing radioactive samples, we offered to share these facilities with other countries not as adequately equipped to carry out these studies. It is gratifying that, since then, 13 other member states of the United Nations and two of the Specialized Agencies have similarly offered to make their laboratories available for analysis of radioactive samples. Several countries already have taken advantage of these facilities for analysis, or are arranging to do so.

I have mentioned these developments ... to emphasize the long-standing and continuing concern of the Canadian Government about the harmful effects of radiation. Our apprehensions of course have been greatly intensified by the recent resumption of nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere. The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, in his statement on October 3 to the General Assembly, stressed what this disturbing development has meant for Canadians. Following the resumption of tests in the atmosphere, the level of radioactive fall-out over one of our major cities - the city of Toronto - multiplied by about one thousand times. There were at the same time sharp increases in fall-out readings at several other points in Canada.

#### Latest Fall-out Figures

I would like to place before the Committee today just a few figures to illustrate how sharply fall-out levels have jumped. In the week ending September 10, the highest fall-out level recorded anywhere in Canada was 20 disintegrations per minute per cubic metre of air. During the following week, however, there were readings of 90 units at Ottawa, 100 units at Montreal, 260 units at Windsor and 470 units at Toronto.

Even higher levels were reached during the week of September 18 to September 24. The average reading for that week at Fort William was about 280 units, and this included peak daily readings of 1,000 units and 600 units. Montreal, the largest centre of population in Canada, had an average reading of 207 units for the week - that included three consecutive daily readings of more than 350 units. Ottawa also had very high fall-out readings during the same period; the average for the week was 246 units, and two consecutive daily readings were above 500 units. At Windsor a reading of 570 units was recorded on September 22, and the average for the week there was 185 units.

I am sure the Committee will agree with me that this is most disturbing information. Nor are we certain what further increases in radiation levels may be expected as a result of the tests which have been carried out, for past experience has shown that a large portion of the radioactive fall-out is likely to be delayed. Moreover, several further atmospheric tests have been





carried out since the fall-out levels which I have quoted were recorded. Every possible effort must be exerted to ensure that there is no further intensification of the already sharply increased levels of radioactive fall-out.

It is true that Canada is one of the countries geographically located in the latitudes which, on the basis of evidence so far available, seem to have received some of the heaviest concentrations of radioactive fall-out. I am sure, however, that the anxiety aroused in Canada by the effects of recent test explosions is shared by peoples of every nation represented in this Committee. There are too many grim uncertainties about this matter of radiation hazards to human welfare for any of us to be complacent. Intensity of radioactive fall-out varies from one locality to another, and from one week to the next. Concentrations build up in particular areas. The long-term effects of exposure are by no means clearly established; some of these effects may not appear for many years. It is thus not only ourselves and our children who face the consequences of ever higher levels of radiation; generations yet unborn also may suffer, to an extent which it is not now possible to measure. Another ominous aspect of the increase in levels of radioactive fall-out is the evidence that some individuals are more susceptible than others to harmful consequences of radiation.

Whatever disagreement or doubt there may be about the level of radiation which would pose an immediate menace to human well-being, the fact that all radiation does present a potential hazard, and that higher levels increase this hazard, is beyond dispute. Everything we learn about the nature and extent of the consequences of radiation re-affirms the gravity of the problem. The fact that we have still so much to learn about its long-term effects cannot fail to add to our apprehension.

### Canada Protests

It is with these sombre considerations in mind ... that my delegation has participated in formulating the expressions of international concern which are found in the resolution we have put before this Committee. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Mr. Green, said when he addressed the General Assembly, we take the most vigorous exception to having our own and succeeding generations exposed, through the actions of other states, to the dangers of radioactive fall-out. We must register in the most unequivocal terms the anxiety felt among members of this world organization, and the populations represented here, about the growing threat to which mankind is being exposed. By any standard for the conduct of international relations, it cannot be accepted that any state by its actions should cause populations of other states, and their descendants, to be exposed to these incalculable risks. We firmly believe it to be a responsibility of this Assembly to make this point sharply and clearly.





It is essential, therefore, that we should not pass lightly over this item concerning the annual progress report of a scientific body established by the General Assembly to study the effects of atomic radiation. In dealing with it, we must take account of current developments which have such direct and important implications for the studies which that body is carrying out. If we failed to do so, we should be ignoring the views of the Scientific Committee itself. As its report states, the Committee recognizes that the resumption of nuclear test explosions increases the urgency for the intensification of relevant scientific studies.

### Czech Proposal Opposed

It is difficult for my delegation to understand how the distinguished representative of Czechoslovakia could suggest, as the resolution submitted by his delegation does, that despite the present disturbing circumstances we should treat this item concerning radiation hazards in a routine and, indeed, almost casual manner. Item 24 is, after all, the only item on the agenda of the sixteenth session which deals specifically with the consequences of atomic radiation. I am sure the Committee will agree with me that as representative of our peoples - the very men, women and children directly threatened by the radiation menace - we cannot do less in this Assembly than to take the kind of positive and substantive action which they expect of us. We must, therefore, seize the opportunity afforded by the consideration of this item to ensure that the focus of world opinion is held on this grave problem.

Before I pass on to the scientific proposals contained in our resolution, I should perhaps comment briefly on one possible misconception about the nature of its objectives. It is not our intention - and in this I am sure I speak for all co-sponsors - it is in no way our intention to involve ourselves here with the complex question of effective and practical arrangements for achieving a cessation of nuclear-weapons tests. The position of the Canadian Government on this issue is well known. Canada is unalterably opposed to the testing of nuclear weapons, both because of the radiation hazard posed by such tests and because of their contribution to the development of ever more terrible weapons of war. The Canadian attitude in this respect has been emphasized wherever and whenever the matter of tests has been discussed. It will continue to be stressed in the appropriate forum, the First Committee of this Assembly.

### A Harsh Reality

But what we are concerned with here in the Special Political Committee is one specific aspect of the dangers associated with the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. The basis for our urgent examination of this problem is the indisputable fact that sharp increases in radioactive fall-out have occurred as a result of nuclear-weapons testing. This is not a matter for argument and it is not a theoretical prospect; it is a harsh reality.



The hazards which it poses for all our people are the proper concern of the Scientific Committee whose report we have before us. It is not only appropriate but also imperative that, in the light of recent developments, we should place renewed emphasis on all the various lines of study being carried out by the Committee.

It is against this background that I turn now to the proposals we have offered in the 22-power resolution before the Committee.

The preambular paragraphs of our resolution record the deep and universal concern about the increasing levels of radioactive fall-out, to which I have already referred. The second of these paragraphs stresses particularly the apprehension about the cumulative effects of exposure to ever-increasing levels of radiation over a long period of time.

The fourth paragraph of the resolution sets forth a declaration citing the responsibility of all states in respect of any actions by them which would further increase levels of radioactive fall-out, with possibly harmful biological consequences for the present and future populations of other countries.

Bearing in mind particularly the reference, in Paragraph 12 of the Scientific Committee's report, to the implications of recent developments, the resolution goes on to stress the importance of pursuing and intensifying the various scientific studies on radiation levels and effects. It reaffirms the importance of the fullest international co-operation in exchanging results of research on the radiation problem. The resolution also stresses the importance of making available to the Committee the results of research carried out and information acquired by national services, so that its second comprehensive report may be as scientifically authoritative and informative as possible.

We and our co-sponsors have also considered it important that the preparation of the comprehensive report should be expedited as far as possible, in view of the mounting international concern about the effects of radiation. With the same considerations in mind, the resolution in Paragraph 9 invites the Committee to consider whether the information before it would call for the submission of an interim report before the comprehensive report can be made available. The possibility that the facts compiled by the Committee on levels or effects of radiation might warrant such interim reports was, of course, envisaged by the General Assembly when the Scientific Committee was established. Its original terms of reference specifically provide for such a possibility.

The main work of the Scientific Committee is concerned with assessing the biological implications for mankind of exposure to radiation. With so much concern at the present time about





radioactive fall-out, a major and increasing source of radiation, it is imperative that this aspect of our studies on the radiation problem should be particularly emphasized. Section II of the resolution which we are co-sponsoring, having to do with the role of the World Meteorological Organization, seeks to amplify the information available about the world-wide incidence and distribution of radioactive fall-out.

#### Role of WMO

The World Meteorological Organization is a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, which has 102 members. Its facilities enable it to collect, co-ordinate and distribute accurate information about atmospheric phenomena in all parts of the world. The Meteorological Organization thus is uniquely suited to assist in increasing the extent and accuracy of man's knowledge about concentrations of radioactive fall-out and the pattern of movements of such concentrations. It is also well equipped to summarize and disseminate such information throughout the world, without delay and on a regular basis.

I have already mentioned the very high concentrations of radioactive fall-out which have been recorded recently in various parts of Canada; and other members of this Committee, I am sure, will be reporting similarly high levels elsewhere. But one of the very disturbing aspects of the current trend toward ever-higher average levels of fall-out is the fact that our information is so incomplete. Over large areas of the world, no regular records of fall-out levels are maintained. It may be that the populations living there are being exposed to equal or greater dangers than are suggested by the levels recorded where statistics are kept. Moreover, until we have comprehensive readings of fall-out levels throughout the world for a considerable period of time, there will be much still to be learned about the movements of fall-out systems, and the duration of concentrations in particular areas. This information clearly is of great importance in assessing the nature and extent of radiation hazards.

... The members of the World Meteorological Organization - and this includes most of the countries represented in this Committee - utilize the facilities of the Organization to have at their disposal, on a day-to-day basis, information about a broad range of atmospheric factors throughout the world. What could be more logical than that the United Nations should turn to the competent Specialized Agency to ask that its international system of meteorological reporting should undertake measurement of one of the factors which is of such vital significance to human well-being - the level of atmospheric radioactivity? The collection and distribution of this data, besides contributing to various aspects of the study of radiation hazards, would also serve to keep world public opinion alert to one of the most critical problems of our time.



Summing-up

In conclusion I should like to sum up the fundamental objectives of the resolution which my delegation has joined with many others in placing before this Committee. We wish to register in unmistakable terms the concern of mankind at the growing hazards of radioactive fall-out, which we cannot afford to see further intensified. We seek to direct renewed and increased effort to the pursuit of scientific studies, to improve man's knowledge of the radiation problem and thus make us better able to avert the dangers suggested by the evidence we now possess. Finally, with a view to bringing ever greater pressure of world opinion to bear so that the current disturbing trend may be reversed, it is our purpose to expose this problem to the most intensive public scrutiny - to inscribe on the conscience of the world community an acute awareness of the menace to which our own and succeeding generations are being exposed. We cannot face the future with equanimity if we approach this grave problem complacently, or if we fail to bring to bear the full authority of this organization with a view to dispelling the ominous shadow of radioactive fall-out that menaces all mankind.

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 61/15

### AN APPALLING ANSWER TO UN PROTESTS

A Statement by the Secretary of State  
for External Affairs, Mr. Howard Green, in  
the First Committee of the United Nations  
on October 20, 1961.

I should like to make a very short statement in support of the stand taken by the representatives of Denmark, Japan and Pakistan. In doing so may I first point out that Draft Resolution A/C.1/L.288 is not in competition with the Indian draft resolution at all. As a matter of fact, we in Canada intend to support that Indian draft resolution, and we may have something to say in regard to it in due course. But the United Nations is faced now with a statement that a 50-megaton bomb will be discharged before the end of the month. It may be discharged over this weekend. We have the definite statement from the leader of this great nation, the Soviet Union, that this bomb will be set off before the end of October. May I submit that that is ample reason why the United Nations should deal with this question promptly? If we fail to deal with a question of this magnitude, what point is there in dealing with a great many small issues?

I suggest that this is probably the greatest challenge the United Nations has ever faced. The announcement by Chairman Khrushchov of this intention to explode a 50-megaton bomb, I am sure, brings home to each one of us in this room today the urgency of the matter with which we are concerned in the debate. Even before this latest announcement, the breakdown of the moratorium early in September had caused world-wide concern, which has led to the introduction of draft resolutions in this Committee calling for an end to nuclear testing, including of course the Indian draft resolution. But now we have learnt that this Soviet test series is to be climaxed by the explosion of the 50-megaton thermonuclear bomb. It has already been pointed out, but I repeat, that, when this bomb is added to the current Soviet test series, the result will be a fall-out yield equal to at least two-thirds of that from all the tests conducted by all the nuclear powers from 1945 to 1958, when the voluntary moratorium began.

### Soviet Defiance of World Opinion

This surely is an appalling answer to the expressions of alarm and anxiety which have been voiced in the United Nations General Assembly



and of which, I am sure, Chairman Khrushchov is very well aware. If this programme which is announced is executed, it will be in defiance of the wishes of the peoples of the entire world; it will signify contempt for the resolutions and opinions of the United Nations.

On hearing of the Soviet intention to explode this monstrous weapon, my Government prepared and attempted to deliver a solemn protest to the Soviet Government the day before yesterday. The Soviet representative in Ottawa refused to accept delivery of the note on the ground that the proposed detonation of a 50-megaton bomb was a matter of internal concern only to the Soviet Union. Surely it is not possible to contend seriously that filling the atmosphere with radioactive dust is a matter solely of domestic concern.

As a homely analogy illustrating this Soviet argument; let us imagine two neighbours, one of whom proceeds to blow large clouds of poisonous arsenic spray into the air over his garden. This spray is then blown across the garden of his neighbour, covering the vegetables and fruits which the neighbour eats. Would such acts be allowed in any country of the world? The answer is that they certainly would not.

The very fact that the United Nations has been seized year after year with the question of the cessation of nuclear tests, and the very fact that there are expressions of concern from nations in all parts of the world, refute the claim that nuclear testing and its uncontrollable by-products are matters of domestic concern. Fall-out knows no national boundaries. Once released, it affects indiscriminately nations around the world, large and small.

If the Soviet Government will not heed the protests of its neighbours -- and Canada happens to be a neighbour of the Soviet Union -- we have no alternative but to bring to bear through the United Nations the collective moral judgment of the international community.

It is one of the great functions of this world organization to focus world opinion, and here is a case where that should be done. I cannot believe that the Soviet Union would be insensitive to an appeal by this Assembly not to explode this super-bomb, which is bound to add enormously to the radiation hazards we already face. I am sure that the Russian people themselves would welcome a decision on the part of their Government which would prevent this increased danger to their health as to the health of all other peoples.

For these reasons, Canada has co-sponsored the draft resolution introduced by Denmark. If it is to serve its purpose, we believe it should be given absolute priority in the proceedings of this Committee. We have only a few days in which to act; it may be that we have only a few hours in which to act in the United Nations. I sincerely hope that the six-power draft resolution will receive the support of all member states. Representatives will notice that it is worded in the nature of an appeal: "Solemnly appeals ..". I am confident that the leaders of the Soviet Union will heed an expression of world opinion if such an expression is given in the United Nations at this time. I trust that we will do everything to prevent the occurrence of this great world tragedy.







## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
( OTTAWA - CANADA )



No. 61/17    A PLEA FOR RENEWED DISARMAMENT TALKS

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard C. Green, to the First Committee of the United Nations on November 24, 1961.

Since disarmament negotiations were broken off in June 1960 -- that is, almost a year and a half ago -- we have seen the arms race accelerated and the tensions which go with it greatly increased. Some believe increased tensions are an obstacle to disarmament negotiations. I draw a different conclusion. I believe that developments in the last few months in Berlin, as well as the breakdown of the moratorium on nuclear-weapons testing, have demonstrated more clearly than ever the urgency of resuming disarmament negotiations.

The universal concern over this very dangerous trend has been clearly reflected in various debates right from the commencement of this sixteenth session of the General Assembly. A number of resolutions already adopted have called for action to reverse that trend. I think it is a very encouraging development that such efforts have had a positive effect. For example, Canada warmly welcomes the announcement that nuclear-tests negotiations are now to be resumed. I regard this decision as the direct outcome of action which the Assembly has taken to focus attention on the dangers of nuclear-weapons testing.

Three years of careful study at Geneva brought the three nuclear powers together on all but a few points. Now early agreement on a treaty for the permanent cessation of tests would be a major achievement in itself. It would also be a first significant step toward the goal of general disarmament.

The action taken on nuclear testing must be reinforced by immediate steps to bring about a resumption of negotiations on the question of general disarmament. We cannot let the present Assembly go without achieving this goal.

### Groundwork Laid

This summer, private consultations between the United States and the Soviet Union laid the groundwork. As we are all aware, those talks brought about agreement on a set of basic principles for the guidance of future negotiations on disarmament.



This Committee has already taken a practical step toward the actual resumption of disarmament talks by unanimously endorsing resolution A/C.1/L.299, which welcomed agreement on these principles and urged these two great nations to agree on a negotiating body.

As yet there is no agreement on how these basic principles should be translated into practice. I have no desire today to gloss over the differences. Indeed, on the important matter of verification methods, we must admit frankly that the two sides are still a long way apart. I believe such difficulties can be resolved in the course of detailed negotiations. The results which the United States and the Soviet Union were able to achieve last summer are proof that conflicting viewpoints can be brought together through careful and painstaking efforts.

The only remaining obstacle to resumed negotiations is the lack of agreement on the composition of the forum in which disarmament will actually be negotiated. To speak very frankly, I cannot for the life of me see why the problem of composition should constitute a barrier to the resumption of negotiations.

The question, after all, is a simple one. All of us surely want to devise a negotiating group which will meet two objectives: first, to give the major military powers an opportunity for detailed discussions; second, to ensure that the interest of all states in disarmament is adequately reflected.

#### A Practical Arrangement

At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly last year, I expressed the conviction that a group in which the two sides would face one another is a practical and effective arrangement. Our re-examination of the problem of composition in recent weeks has confirmed us in this belief. However, we are also convinced that the participation of additional countries with a fresh perspective would be of great value. It is not for me to suggest which states should fulfil this role. However, it seems clear that it would be desirable for them to be chosen from areas of the world which have not been represented on the negotiating group.

At the last session of the General Assembly, Canada advanced proposals designed to broaden the representative character of the negotiating group and to increase its effectiveness. At that time, my delegation suggested the addition to the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee of a chairman, vice-chairman and a rapporteur -- all to come from countries other than the ten. However, strong arguments have been advanced in this debate to the effect that any additional members over and above the ten should be not officers but full participants in the work of the negotiating committee, and I agree that that would be a better plan.





### Suggestions for Composition

To meet the requirement for a more representative composition, provision should be made for participation by the main geographical regions not already represented, namely Africa, Asia and Latin America. We might agree, for example, on an expanded committee of 13 (although in Canada 13 is an unlucky number, perhaps in this case it would be a very lucky one) or 16, by adding one or two representatives from each of these areas to the ten powers which were engaged in the negotiations in Geneva.

This would still leave open the important matter of selecting a presiding officer. We have two suggestions and, of course, there may well be others. One possibility would be to appoint the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission as chairman of this negotiating group. This could be a helpful choice, not only because the present incumbent of that office is well qualified, but because an ex officio appointment of this kind would provide continuity. Alternatively, a chairman might appropriately be chosen from one of the delegations newly represented on the committee, that is, from the three or six additional countries, if there should be six, added to the ten. It would be understood, of course, that his service in this capacity of chairman would not interfere with his country's full participation in the negotiations. So much for composition.

### Reporting to UN

My delegation holds the view that, no matter what negotiating body is decided upon, it should have a close and effective relationship with the United Nations as a whole. The question of disarmament is obviously of vital interest to all members of the organization, large and small, no matter from what continent they happen to come. Whatever smaller group may be nominated to carry on detailed negotiations, there would be great value in making provision for regular reports from that body to the United Nations Disarmament Commission; and, as we know, the negotiating Committee of Ten was not set up by the United Nations but by the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Geneva.

It might also prove desirable, as negotiations proceed, to consider establishing United Nations committees to study specific aspects of disarmament which may require examination from a regional or a specialized point of view. The establishment of such committees would not only serve to speed up the study of certain problems but would offer an opportunity for the participation of further members of the United Nations in a detailed consideration of disarmament. We believe there are various fields which could be studied by special committees of the United Nations.



I offer these various suggestions in the hope that they may assist in the search for common ground. I repeat that the problem of composition is not so difficult that it need delay the resumption of negotiations. Whatever agreement may be reached, the fundamental point is not a question of numbers but of determination to get on with the job of actual negotiations. By unanimously adopting resolution A/C.1/L.299, to which I have already referred, and which was sponsored by India, Ghana and the United Arab Republic, we have urged the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on the question of composition. The attention of all members of this Committee is focused on the talks between those two countries. We are united in the hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will soon be able to report agreement on this question of composition. I think it is perfectly clear that the responsibility for the next move rests with these two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and I most honestly plead with them that they reach agreement quickly on a forum in which these negotiations could be carried on.

The resumption of negotiations in a suitable forum would constitute only the first step, of course, on the road to disarmament. A full range of measures that will require negotiation is dealt with in the detailed proposals which have been put forward by the two sides; and we are in the position that both sides have already put in their disarmament proposals.

#### A Major Development

I believe that one major development since disarmament was discussed in the last session of the General Assembly has been the preparation of a new disarmament programme, submitted to the Assembly by the President of the United States on 25 September. Canada participated throughout in the preparation of that disarmament plan and it has our full support.

The first stage of these new proposals contains far-reaching measures of disarmament. This is an important advance. From the outset, under those proposals, provision is made for extensive reductions of nuclear armaments and their means of delivery. Canada attaches the greatest importance to provisions to deal effectively with these most dangerous modern nuclear weapons. There are, of course, parallel measures for the reduction of so-called conventional armaments, and they are equally significant if the principle of balance between the two great powers is to be maintained.

In addition to providing for significant measures at the earliest possible time, these new proposals accept without reservation the commitment to continue until a total programme of general disarmament has been achieved; in other words, to guard against this starting and stopping and provide for steady continuation of the negotiations. The need for a commitment of that kind was emphasized in the statement of





principles adopted by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers last spring, and I quote the significant paragraph from the communique of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting:

"Once started, the process of disarmament should be continued without interruption until it is completed."

This same obligation was also expressly recognized by both sides in the joint statement of principles on 20 September.

The new proposals also give considerable attention to effective procedures for maintaining the peace. It is a most important step forward that the requirement for effective international peace-keeping machinery has been given full recognition in the statement of principles agreed between the United States and the Soviet Union.

#### Disarmament and Peace Machinery

To the Canadian Government (and I am sure this is true of other governments), it is obvious that there is a close connexion between the progressive reduction of national armaments and the strengthening of international arrangements to keep the peace. We recognize that this question is one that will require much closer consideration in order to find a generally acceptable solution. Indeed, my delegation considers that it would be desirable to have all aspects of this problem studied by a special body to be set up for this purpose within the United Nations. In other words, while we go ahead with negotiations on disarmament let us be moving at the same time for the setting up of peace-keeping machinery.

Finally, the new proposals represent a genuine attempt to take account of earlier Soviet positions. They have been carefully balanced to make quite certain that their adoption would not result in a military advantage for any one state or group of states. Moreover, they are not presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis but as a contribution to constructive negotiations.

It would not be profitable for me to go further at this time into questions of detail. My purpose in raising them today has been to emphasize once again that the foundation on which constructive negotiations can be built already exists. We have agreement on basic principles; we are easily within reach of an understanding on the question of composition; and we have detailed proposals from both sides which have a number of significant elements in common. We must seize the opportunity we now have to get down quickly to the actual consideration of a full programme of disarmament.



Each one of us here is under a moral obligation to our own and to future generations to find a speedy and a lasting solution to this vital question of disarmament. It involves not only reducing arms and eventually getting rid of them, but it also involves putting a stop to the development of new and more deadly weapons. There are two angles to it: disarmament and, at the same time, stopping the arms race.

I do not believe we should be discouraged. The United Nations is no place for a pessimist. Coming from Ottawa, it is very easy for me to come down here in a matter of an hour or an hour and a half; sometimes it takes longer to get from Idlewild Airport to the United Nations Building than it does to get from Ottawa to the airport. It is therefore possible to come down frequently.

I believe that the meetings of this Committee and the meetings of the General Assembly and the meetings of the other Committees at the sixteenth session have already accomplished a great deal. Do you remember, Mr. Chairman, what terrific tension there was when we came here (was it on 19 September?) and everyone was afraid that a nuclear war might break out overnight or over the week-end? Tension could not have been much greater than it was at that time. The very fact that the United Nations General Assembly met started the reduction of that tension.

As the debates have gone on in the weeks which have followed, I believe there has been a steadily-decreasing amount of tension, and we should not be discouraged. I think we are really getting something done which is very much worth while.

Here, today, we are discussing what is really the key problem facing the United Nations: disarmament and stopping the nuclear weapons race. If we can succeed in that, then we can get on to the dozens of other things there are to do to help people build up their countries, to improve the lot of humanity -- all these things that are worth while and that are not destructive but are constructive. This, of course, is what we all really want. No one here wants to be wasting a lot of time talking about weapons and disarmament and all that sort of business. We have to do it because of existing conditions.

Here, now, we have a chance on this disarmament question to get something really worth while under way and I hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will agree on a forum. After all, there is not much difference between 13 and 18 or 20 -- it is really a numbers game. Let them agree on that and let the rest of us offer our full co-operation. Some of us would be on the negotiating body, others would not, but they could perhaps work on a committee which was studying some particular subject; in any event it is important that whatever countries are going to do the negotiating will have





the great interest and the abiding goodwill of all the other countries, because we all have so much at stake. As I have said here before it may be a question of whether civilization continues or whether the whole world blows up. Here is the key problem in trying to see that mankind follows the only sensible alternative of these two alternatives.

If we take this attitude, I am confident that the results may surprise even the most optimistic delegates here today.

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CANADA

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

No. 61/18

### TOWARD THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS

Address by General E.L.M. Burns, Representative of Canada in the First Committee of the United Nations, on October 30, 1961.

I am sure there is not one of us in this room who is not dismayed by the fact that this morning the Soviet Union set off another and a most awesome explosion in a long series of explosions of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. We are filled with anxiety at the frightening increase to the cloud of radioactive debris that hangs over all peoples. In a resolution that was unanimously adopted by the Assembly last Friday, the very deep concern which the danger of radioactive fall-out evokes throughout the world was clearly recorded. Out of its fear for the safety of this and future generations, the Assembly, on the same day, also made a specific and solemn appeal to the Soviet Union to refrain from exploding the especially fearsome 50-megaton bomb which Mr. Khrushchev had threatened would be detonated before the end of this month.

That threat has now been fulfilled with a cynical and dangerous disregard for the universal wish that mankind might be spared the consequences of such a reckless experiment. The exercise of wise judgment in the Soviet Union could have prevented this enormous wrong. As it is, nothing can be done to dispel the radioactive dust that now is finding its way over all our countries. In the circumstances I must, on behalf of the Canadian people, express abhorrence at this event and deplore the manner in which the Soviet Union has flouted the desires of all peoples and the appeal of this United Nations General Assembly.

On September 7, addressing the Canadian House of Commons, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said:

"We must never forget that the United Nations is the best place we have in which to focus world opinion. The big question in my mind is this: have the Soviet Union gone so far that they are now preparing to ignore world opinion?"





The Soviet disdain for the solemn appeal of this Assembly poses that question in stark and grave terms. Our protest at this time is based on the conviction that the universal revulsion which this Soviet action will excite may yet serve the purpose of persuading the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to resume a position of co-operating with world opinion as expressed in and through the United Nations.

### Indian Resolution

We are at present debating the Indian draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.283/Rev. 2. Doubts have been expressed in previous statements this morning whether, in view of what has happened, there is very much use in passing a resolution calling for an unsupported moratorium. The Canadian Government had decided before this last event to support this draft resolution, and we still intend to do so and to vote for it. In this statement which I am making, we shall give our reasons for so doing and shall also give our views on the general problem of what should be done to ensure that the testing of nuclear weapons is stopped and stays stopped. I apologize if I repeat, in order to make our position clear, things that have been said by many other delegations in their statements on this subject.

The first reason why nuclear testing should be stopped is that radioactive nuclear fall-out is a danger to health. We do not know how great a danger it is; scientific studies have not been conclusive on this point. But it is agreed that all exposure to radioactivity can affect the human body. It is further agreed that the greater the exposure, the greater the danger. Furthermore, fear of radioactive fall-out is widespread among all peoples in the world, and their fear and anxiety should be respected. This alone is sufficient reason for calling for nuclear testing to cease.

But there is another reason, a reason about which there can be no doubt, and this is that nuclear testing is for the purpose of arming the nuclear powers with more and bigger nuclear weapons. As we have been told so many times, the nuclear powers already have more than enough such weapons to kill half of humanity.

The nuclear powers assert that they have been or may be obliged to resume testing because their national security requires it. This, in the view of the Canadian delegation, is in the long term a grave error. A series of tests conducted by one side brings about a subsequent series of tests conducted by the other -- and this is the essence of and the most dangerous part of the arms race. Can masses of nuclear weapons confer any security when it is certain that if the powers owning them put them to use, they will go down together in mutual destruction -- destruction which will extend far beyond their own borders? The existence of these weapons is a threat to the nations which possess them, to the nations which do not possess them and to humanity at large.





These are the reasons why, in our view, nuclear testing must be stopped. What should be done to stop it? My delegation believes that the General Assembly should in the first instance call upon the nuclear powers which are carrying out or are capable of carrying out tests to refrain from further testing. In spite of what has happened we still believe that such a request should be made. The draft resolution presented by Ghana, India, Nepal, United Arab Republic and others appears to us to be suitable to express the urgent wish of all nations in this respect. As I said, Canada is prepared to vote for it, but we draw attention to the last phrase in operative paragraph 2 which reads:

"Earnestly urges the powers concerned to refrain from further test explosions pending the conclusion of necessary internationally binding agreements in regard to tests or general and complete disarmament."

This and the succeeding paragraph, though expressed rather vaguely, seem to be intended to meet the positions which have been stated by the major nuclear powers in regard to the so-called moratorium, that is, in regard to their making a declaration - a simple verbal promise -- that they will refrain from nuclear testing. What are these positions?

#### U.S. Attitude

The representatives of the United States have made it clear that they are resolutely opposed to a further uncontrolled moratorium, having been deceived by the Soviet Union's violation of the agreement not to test which was in force during the Geneva negotiations. As a consequence of the Soviet Union's action, the United States may find that it has been placed at a relative disadvantage in the development of nuclear weapons. The United States is therefore unwilling again to trust such an uninspected, unsupervised agreement.

We must say that we have much sympathy with the viewpoint expressed by the United States delegation, and I quote the proverb, "Once bitten, twice shy". We feel that we owe it to the representative of the United States to say that Canada appreciates fully that the United States respected the wishes of the United Nations General Assembly as expressed in resolutions 1577 and 1578 of last year, and many preceding resolutions, and did not initiate any nuclear weapons tests until after the Soviet Union had tested large bombs in the atmosphere and had made it clear that it would not accept the request of the President of the United States and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to put an end to the series of tests which it had embarked upon. Furthermore, the four tests made by the United States have been carried out underground and have hence produced no radioactive fall-out.





The representatives of the United States have emphasized several times that their country is ready to sign at once a treaty banning nuclear tests permanently, under effective international control, the treaty which had been elaborated in the negotiations at Geneva and which to be completed requires only agreement on three points. This was explained very clearly to the Committee by the representatives of both the United Kingdom and the United States. But the Soviet Union has not agreed to negotiate a solution to these three points at issue.

### Essence of East-West Disagreement

What was the essence of the three points of disagreement? Basically they relate to the degree of control and verification which the Soviet Union is willing to accept in order to permit the implementation of a satisfactory treaty to ban tests permanently. The Soviet Union professes to believe that the control measures necessary would be used for spying unless their own citizens were able to exercise a veto over every aspect of the practical functioning of the control system. This morbid apprehension of espionage seems to us very extraordinary in a great nation like the Soviet Union, which undoubtedly possesses such great power. Why is the Soviet Union so reluctant to impose upon itself a few minor limitations on its national sovereignty in the interests of international peace and security? We shall probably have more to say about this important problem during our discussion of item 3 of our agenda, General Disarmament.

I would suggest that representatives of the non-aligned or uncommitted nations should examine carefully the unresolved points in the draft treaty for the cessation of nuclear weapons testing. They are clearly set forth in the speeches of the United States and United Kingdom representatives, which are in the verbatim reports of the proceedings of this Committee. Furthermore, the proceedings of the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests are available in a number of documents. After such study, representatives could decide for themselves whether it is likely that the proposed control machinery could be used for espionage and whether this possibility should really prevent completing and putting into effect a treaty on the lines drafted.

I know that representatives here are busy men and that, when the days' meetings and obligatory social engagements are finished, there is not much time or energy left for careful study of the complicated questions with which we are faced, especially in the disarmament sphere. But this is a vital question: what is the dividing line between espionage and the reliable control, inspection and verification of treaty provisions with respect to the cessation of nuclear tests or disarmament? It would be helpful if all those who will speak on this subject would inform themselves as fully as possible as to what the problem of control really is.

Now, what is the position of the Soviet Union in regard to the cessation of nuclear testing? I quote from the letter of 26 September from the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, document A/4893:



" ... unless persistent and resolute efforts are made to achieve general and complete disarmament there can be no guarantee that tomorrow other states too will not begin testing their own nuclear weapons, even if a treaty for the cessation of tests has, in fact, been concluded between the three powers ...

"If states carry out general and complete disarmament under effective international control, if all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, are abolished and armies disbanded, then the incentive for the development of nuclear weapons will disappear too, and with it the incentive for testing them. There will then be no temptation for anyone to test nuclear weapons on the ground, underground, in the atmosphere or in outer space ..." (A/4893, Pages 9 and 10)

At our meeting on 17 October the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Zorin, had the following to say:

"If there is a real desire to put an end to all tests, that desire can be met in present conditions only if the United States, the Soviet Union and other interested powers sit down at a table and elaborate a programme of general and complete disarmament ..." (A/C.1/PV.1168, Page 82)

He went on:

" ... an isolated solution of the problem is impossible in present conditions. Of course, a resolution can be adopted. But in present conditions we do not see that such a resolution would have much meaning." (Ibid.)

The results of the resolution that we passed last Friday show that Mr. Zorin certainly knew what he was talking about.

### Reconciling Rival Positions

Now we have the position of the two great powers. The United States is not prepared to promise not to recommence nuclear testing unless there is an effective treaty preventing it; and the Soviet Union says that nuclear testing can disappear only if there is general and complete disarmament. Is it possible to reconcile these two positions? The Canadian delegation believes that it may be. The key is that both the Soviet Union and the United States have related the cessation of nuclear testing to their respective plans or programmes for general and complete disarmament. The United States programme, announced by President Kennedy on 25 September to the General Assembly, provides that in its first stage:

"States that have not acceded to a treaty effectively prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons shall do so."





When this was written into the programme, the United States still hoped that the Geneva negotiators would finally agree on a treaty.

The Soviet Union, in numerous statements besides the quotations I have given, says that nuclear testing will cease only if there is an agreement on general and complete disarmament. What exactly does this mean? It has argued, and I have quoted the arguments, that a separate treaty on the cessation of nuclear testing would be ineffective. It must, therefore, be presumed that it thinks a simple declaration by both sides that they will cease nuclear testing would be even less effective. Its whole argument is for the immediate adoption of the Soviet Union's plan for general and complete disarmament.

We wonder whether this means that the Soviet Union intends to go on testing nuclear weapons, as it has been doing for the past two months, at intervals whenever it suits its purpose, until all the details involved in a treaty for general and complete disarmament are agreed to and the treaty is signed. Such an intention would certainly not indicate a serious desire to negotiate in good faith on general disarmament. Continued testing would provoke an intensification of the arms race and would not limit it. My delegation is firmly of the view that the Soviet Union, to demonstrate the sincerity of its frequently professed desire for general and complete disarmament, must not only refrain from further testing of nuclear weapons but must show its willingness to enter into what the Indian draft resolution calls "internationally binding agreements" with respect to the permanent cessation and prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

As I have already pointed out, both the major nuclear powers have in one way or another related the problem of the cessation of nuclear testing to their plans for general disarmament. Furthermore, Paragraph 8 of their joint statement of agreed principles to guide future disarmament negotiations includes the following clause:

"... efforts to ensure early agreement on an implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme ..." (A/4879, Page 5)

The Canadian delegation suggests that an agreement on the cessation of nuclear testing could be one of the first measures of disarmament to be negotiated and put into effect. Nuclear testing is an activity undertaken solely in the interests of creating new and more effective armaments and is hence a major factor in the arms race, which is designed to increase armaments. It has been argued that the cessation of nuclear testing is not in itself a measure of disarmament, but, if the purpose of nuclear testing is the development and perfection of nuclear armaments, then it follows that the cessation of nuclear testing is a measure of disarmament.



It seems evident from the stated attitudes of both the United States and the Soviet Union that a resolution which simply calls for the cessation of nuclear tests will not be enough and that it must be supplemented by another calling for the conclusion of a treaty which would provide a permanent guarantee against the resumption of tests. In this connexion, if we look at resolutions 1577 and 1578 adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, we find that both these resolutions combined these ideas. Both resolutions called on the nuclear powers negotiating at Geneva to reach an agreement on the cessation of testing of nuclear weapons and, pending the conclusion of an agreement, to continue their voluntary suspension of tests. Canada recognizes the urgent need to reinforce the moral obligation of states to refrain from testing by a judicially binding agreement accompanied by effective international controls. For this reason my delegation will support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.280 submitted by the United Kingdom and the United States.

As for the resumption of negotiations on the cessation of nuclear testing, the Canadian delegation believes that there is no reason why this should not take place immediately. The distinguished and experienced men who were representing the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union at the Geneva talks are here in New York and, if so authorized, could resume their work at once.

It is also for consideration whether those nations which have been negotiating so far might be joined by other nations which have developed nuclear weapons or have the potential to do so. That is a matter on which there might be some expression of opinion in this Committee.

### Recapitulation

To conclude, I should like to recapitulate Canadian views regarding the most effective manner to halt nuclear tests and the action this Assembly should take at this time.

First, the General Assembly should adopt as quickly as possible a resolution demanding the immediate end of nuclear weapon tests by all nations and in all environments.

Secondly, in addition to bringing nuclear tests to a halt immediately, Canada wholeheartedly supports the view that the nuclear powers should return to negotiations with respect to the problem of nuclear tests without delay. They should rapidly settle the differences which separate them, and agree on a binding treaty to put a definitive stop to nuclear testing. This Assembly should, therefore, give its full endorsement to the draft resolution embodying this view which has been submitted by the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom.





Thirdly, it is necessary to recognize that the Soviet Union is at present unwilling to consider the question of nuclear tests except if this question is negotiated in the context of disarmament discussions. If the Soviet Union insists on this position, Canada would see no objection to having the cessation of nuclear tests discussed on the context of disarmament as the question of highest priority. However, my Delegation believes that it is so urgent to reach a binding agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons testing that its consideration should not be delayed until negotiation begins on other disarmament measures or on the broad question of general and complete disarmament. It could be and should be, we think, the first step in the programme of general and complete disarmament. We believe also that the negotiations on disarmament which were broken off in June 1960 should be resumed at the earliest possible moment, and we shall have more to say on this during the debate on item 3 of our agenda.

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 61/19

### RED CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement by Senator Alfred J. Brooks, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, December 8, 1961.

Mr. President,

For more than a decade the question of the representation of China has posed a dilemma for this organization. It has provoked sharp differences of opinion in this Assembly. There is no simple solution. Had there been one, we would not still have the undecided question before us.

It is precisely because the question is so complex, and because opinions on its solution have differed so widely, that this Assembly has not previously thought it wise or timely to take a decision on the substance of the matter. Now, however, for the first time, we are concerned with the real issues. I should like to state the views of my delegation on these issues.

#### Toward an Equitable Decision

Let me say plainly at the outset, Mr. President, that the Canadian Delegation is ready to consider carefully any proposal to settle equitably the question of Chinese representation.

I stress the word "equitably". There are those who claim that wrong has been done to one of the parties concerned. They are entitled to that opinion, but I cannot believe that any delegation in this Assembly would seriously seek to right what it considers to be one wrong by the creation of another.

It is the firm opinion of my Delegation that there must be preserved for the people of Formosa the right to self-determination. The right of all peoples to a voice in their own destinies is one that is fundamental to the purposes of the United Nations.





Subject to due respect for that right in this matter before us, the Canadian Delegation will, I repeat, give the most earnest attention to any proposals which may be advanced.

Mao Tse-Tung, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, said some months ago in an interview with a foreign correspondent - and I quote - "Taiwan is China's affair. We will insist on this." It is quite clear that what he meant was that the future of Taiwan was Peking's affair and no one else's.

### Future of Formosa

My Delegation, Mr. President, cannot accept that claim. We believe, on the contrary, that the future of Formosa is the affair of the people of Formosa. Canadians would never understand or accept a solution by which this organization sanctioned the forcible extinction of the political identity of Formosa. Canadians have always been led to believe that the United Nations function is to prevent the imposition by force on any people of a political régime unacceptable to them.

On another occasion, the head of the government in Peking, Chou En-Lai, said - and again I quote - "This question is relatively simple. If the so-called 'Taiwan clique' is to appear in the United Nations, under whatever form and in whatever name - be it the Chiang Kai-shek clique or some other clique - we will definitely refuse to take part in the United Nations and sit together with them."

So far as the Delegation of Canada is concerned that is an unacceptable condition. Believing that the people of Formosa have a clear and inalienable right to decide their own future, we cannot for a moment agree that there is any justice or reason in the claim made by the Government at Peking that they can impose, as a condition of their own representation, denial of the representation of the people of Formosa. I would remind delegations that the population of Formosa is greater than that of about two-thirds of the members of this organization.

### Only Conditions of UN Membership

Mr. President, the only conditions which apply to membership in the United Nations, and consequently to representation in it, are the conditions set out in the Charter.

There are important provisions of the United Nations Charter which my Delegation believes deserve special attention when considering the question of the representation of China. Members are required to be peace-loving and to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations. We have no desire to exacerbate differences, Mr. President, but we feel bound to emphasize that the record must give cause for grave doubts about the acceptance of that principle in Peking.



Canada believes that, as far as possible, representation in the United Nations should be comprehensive, embracing all nations without distinction as to the form of government or social system adopted. This does not imply recognition of any particular government or approval of its policies, however, nor does it exclude the governments concerned from criticism which we consider valid.

Those who seek representation in this organization, and who also seek to impose their own conditions for doing so, cannot complain, therefore, if the shortcomings in their own record are held up to scrutiny.

### Draft Resolutions

Two draft resolutions are before us for consideration. The first calls upon delegations to express an opinion on the importance of a change in Chinese representation within the meaning of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. President, can there be any doubt about the importance of this question? It concerns the competing claims to representation in the United Nations General Assembly of hundreds of millions of people. It concerns ultimately the disposition of a permanent Security Council seat and, by extension, of seats in the Economic and Social Council and in all subsidiary organs of the United Nations which by custom are held by permanent members of the Security Council.

Such a decision cannot be taken lightly. It must be accorded its due importance. It is patently of immediate importance both to the people who are ruled from Peking and to the inhabitants of Formosa. In the final analysis, it will have a profound influence on the effective functioning of the United Nations itself.

Any question which has remained unresolved for the past 12 years and which has attracted so much international attention must not be settled by recourse to any narrow voting majority. A just and peaceful solution must be found which is generally satisfactory to members of this organization.

### Canada's Vote

For these reasons, the Canadian Delegation will cast its vote in favour of the resolution before us, declaring any proposal to change the representation of China to be an important question.

It follows that it would be altogether unjust to decide the question on the basis proposed in the draft resolution put before us by the Delegation of the U.S.S.R. This resolution attempts to prejudice the issue by speaking of the restoration of rights which most members of this organization have never yet agreed existed.





Such a resolution would not only be inequitable but also quite contrary to the interests of this organization. The Canadian Delegation will therefore vote against the Soviet draft resolution.

My Delegation does not believe that a decision recognizing the importance of the question constitutes, as has been suggested in some quarters, a new form of moratorium. We would not regard the simple adoption of one resolution and the defeat of the other as a satisfactory outcome of this debate.

My Delegation has entered this debate ready to consider carefully any proposals designed to settle equitably the question of Chinese representation. Unfortunately, neither of the draft resolutions before us offers scope for such a settlement.

What is needed most, Mr. President, is some further time for full examination, by whatever means may be found generally acceptable, of all the elements of this complicated question, so that by the next session we can look forward to a solution that will serve the general judgment and carry the cause of justice and peace.

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CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/1

## JAPAN AND CANADA, PACIFIC NEIGHBOURS

An address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker to the Japan-Canada Trade Council, Tokyo, October 28, 1961.

I am honoured to have this opportunity to address a joint gathering of the Canada-Japan Society and the Canada-Japan Trade Council. These organizations personify Japanese friendship for Canada. You, Mr. Chairman, have maintained your sympathetic interest in my country since 1929, when you came to Ottawa as Japan's first Minister. On behalf of all Canadians I express appreciation to you and your associates for all that you are doing to promote the basic objective of closer relations between Canada and Japan - an objective that is fully shared by the Government of Canada.

Japan and Canada as neighbours across the Pacific should enjoy good relations and mutual respect. Canadians know and appreciate the admirable qualities of the Japanese people which have been transplanted to Canadian shores. Today 26,000 Canadians of the Japanese race are contributing to the enrichment of Canadian life.

Not only are we close neighbours and good neighbours, but we have things in common, although different in language and culture. Almost simultaneously Canada set out on its road to independent nationhood, and Japan burst forth from two centuries of isolation to become in a remarkably short time one of the most advanced nations in the world.

We derive a common benefit from trade among nations. We have a common dedication to the ideal and practice of parliamentary democracy. Both have made known their determination to preserve freedom in the face of peril.

### Threat of Communism

Good relations, respect and trust between free nations are imperative. Japan and Canada and all free nations are threatened by the Communist leaders who prophesy the ultimate triumph of the Communist system. The burdens and responsibilities have become awesome and grave for free nations determined to preserve their freedom.





In Europe the Soviet Union has clapped the shackles of the Communist system and an alien military occupation on nations with proud traditions of freedom and independence. These nations, once free, still long for the fresh air of freedom and chafe under the alien rule which has been imposed upon them.

The Soviet leaders have created a crisis in Berlin out of which they hope to complete the enslavement of Eastern Europe. They have created the crisis, with brutal contempt for the fears of mankind that nuclear war with all its horrors will break out.

### Frail Hope Dashed

The problems of peace and security have been vastly intensified by Soviet actions since September 1. On that date, the Soviet leaders unilaterally repudiated the moratorium on nuclear testing which had brought to mankind a frail hope that the world would be spared for present and future generations the incalculable dangers of radioactive fallout. I do not need to speak in Japan of these things, for I know that the Japanese people have reason to share a common dread of the massive experiments now unleashed with such cynical abandon by the U.S.S.R.

Japan and Canada have joined with other nations affected by the drift of radioactive debris, in an earnest and solemn appeal to the U.S.S.R. not to proceed with their fearful plan for detonating a 50-megaton super-bomb. The resolution urging the Soviet Union to abandon its plan to explode the super-bomb was approved in the United Nations two days ago by an overwhelming majority of 75 votes (including Canada and Japan), to 10 (the countries in the Soviet orbit), with one abstention.

We believe that there must be an end to nuclear testing, for the alternative is an accelerated armaments race in which all humanity will be the victim of the madness of a few.

As a beginning an immediate stop to further explosions and the achievement of a safeguarded international agreement on nuclear testing would be an important step.

Further than that the world must have a comprehensive programme of disarmament. An effective system of general and complete disarmament should be worked out and developed by stages until the final goal is reached.

### Deeds to Match Words

A new and workable set of disarmament proposals is now before the United Nations. Canada played a part in the preparation of these proposals and it is hoped that they will receive constructive consideration by all nations at the General Assembly.



The fears of the world would be relieved if the U.S.S.R. would but match its words of peace with deeds of genuine co-operation in this regard.

Amid all these overhanging dangers, friendship and co-operation between Canada and Japan is imperative. Much has been done to strengthen that desirable objective.

There has been an increasing exchange of visits by Japanese and Canadians from all walks of life which has built up a fund of mutual appreciation and understanding.

It was my pleasure to welcome Japan's former Prime Minister, Mr. Kishi, to Canada in 1960 and to welcome Prime Minister Ikeda to Canada in June of this year.

#### Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee

I believe that visits between statesmen have had and will continue to have a beneficial effect on the relations between our countries. Prime Minister Ikeda and I agreed last summer to establish a Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee to facilitate the meetings of Canadian and Japanese Ministers from time to time, not to negotiate on problems, but to familiarize themselves with various aspects of each other's country. The first meeting of this Ministerial Committee will be held in Japan as soon as a convenient occasion arises. I am sure that a Ministerial meeting - a beginning of more to come - will be of great value in maintaining the close co-operation which our countries enjoy in many fields.

In recent years the broad expanse of the North Pacific has served to link us closer in co-operative endeavours to develop the valuable resources of salmon, herring, halibut and other fish. The fishery resources of the North Pacific Ocean are important to Canada as they are to Japan. The International Convention for High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific continues to be a valuable instrument to conserve these resources. The International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, which is holding its eighth annual meeting in Tokyo at the present time, has shown enterprise in developing the implementing programmes of scientific research which have contributed significantly to a knowledge of the fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean. It serves also as an example of three nations - Canada, Japan, and the United States - working constructively in international concert to gain scientific knowledge whereby the protection and expansion of common resources may be ensured.

It is the hope of the Canadian Government that this Convention will continue because we believe that international co-operation based on mutual interest and respect is essential in matters pertaining to fisheries as in other fields.





## Japanese Investment in Canada

When Prime Minister Ikeda was in Ottawa last June, he raised with me the Japanese interest in the possible establishment and development of Japanese investments in Canada. I indicated to the Prime Minister at that time that mutually satisfactory arrangements would be made for the entry to Canada of Japanese nationals required in connection with certain of the operations of these enterprises.

The Canadian Government has now agreed to a plan in respect thereof, as follows:

(a) Non-immigrant managerial, supervisory and technical personnel for specified Japanese-owned enterprises in Canada will be admitted to Canada for periods of three years each, subject to annual renewal of status which will be granted automatically if the original conditions of entry still exist.

(b) Permanent admission will be granted to limited numbers of key managerial, supervisory or technical personnel of Japanese mining and manufacturing enterprises establishing in Canada provided such personnel are shown to be essential to the enterprise and needed on a long-term basis, and that the enterprise will employ a majority of Canadian citizens or persons already resident in Canada.

Many members of this audience are businessmen with a direct interest in trade between Japan and Canada and I shall now speak of that phase of our relations.

## Canada-Japan Trade Agreement

The trade agreement of 1954 between Japan and Canada was signed before Japan became a party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. By the trade agreement Canada was one of the first countries in the post-war period to accord to Japan the full benefits of the most-favoured-nation tariff. Canada was a strong supporter of Japanese accession to the GATT. In various other international bodies Canada has taken a stand in support of Japan being accorded its rightful opportunity to participate on a basis of equality in international trade.

A significant and mutually beneficial expansion in trade has taken place under the stimulus of the trade agreement. In 1953, the last year preceding the agreements, Japanese exports to Canada amounted to \$14 million. By 1960 exports had increased to \$110 million, an eightfold increase in less than eight years. In the same period Canadian sales to Japan have also shown a substantial increase from \$119 million to \$178 million.

Concern has sometimes been expressed that trade between Japan and Canada is not in balance. I think the answer lies in the approach to international trade which is taken by both Canada



and Japan. We believe in multilateral trade which has regard to overall balance and does not consider that the value of trade between two individual countries should be approximately equal.

I should add that the experience of other countries shows that attempts to balance trade bilaterally usually mean balancing it at a low level which could only result in the lowering of living standards.

Canada buys from Japan - textiles, clothing, toys, optical goods, radios, and other electrical items, plywood, footwear, canned fish, manufactured goods -- virtually all of which compete with similar products made in Canada.

Canada sells to Japan, foodstuffs and industrial raw materials - wheat, barley, oil seeds, iron ore, copper, woodpulp, coal and other primary products, virtually all being used for processing in Japanese mills and factories, thus contributing to the expansion of Japan's industries. These facts would indicate that, in the composition of trade with Canada, Japan enjoys a significant advantage.

#### Entry of Japanese Goods

I think that it is generally agreed that Japanese goods enjoy freer access to the Canadian market than to the market of any other industrialized country in the world. Canada's tariffs are moderate and the only special safeguard for Canadian industry rests on a number of restraints on specific exports being applied by Japan itself. Such restraints are in the interests of Japan's future markets and long-term economic well-being.

It is of interest that Canada, with a population of 18 million people, buys more made-up textile products from Japan than does the whole of Western Europe with over 200 million people. When industrial nations maintain severe restrictions on imports from Japan, problems of market disruption are bound to arise in Canada and other countries that do not maintain such restrictions.

For that reason, Canada, in the meetings of the GATT and also in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has been urging the European countries to relax restrictions on imports from Japan.

I believe that many of the problems encountered in our trade relations would not have arisen if all countries were taking reasonable and equitable quantities of exports from Japan.

At the time the trade agreement between Canada and Japan was entered into, it was realized that Japanese exports could cause market disruption in Canada. Therefore a clause was included in the agreement whereby Canada was recognized to have the right to apply fixed values for duty in the event of damage





to Canadian industry resulting from imports from Japan. In the seven years which have elapsed, this special clause has never been used. Our problems to date have been met through consultation and by the adoption of voluntary restraints by Japan designed to avoid damage to a market which holds much promise for the future.

### Japan Initiates Quotas

Japan first took the initiative in introducing quotas on a number of textile exports to Canada in 1956. Since then the range of quotas has been progressively increased, but in 1959 the quota levels became a subject of consultation between governments. In that year it became evident that an extraordinary increase was taking place in Japan's exports to Canada, with a heavy concentration in a narrow range of products.

The quotas established covered not only a wide range of textiles but also hardwood, plywood, and stainless steel flatware. In the years 1960 and 1961 the scope of these quotas was extended to include several other products. Despite these necessary measures two-thirds of Japan's total exports to Canada are free from export restraints of any kind.

The Canadian Government accepts the principle of orderly growth of Japanese exports to Canada. Let me make it clear that by orderly growth we have in mind that individual products which are competitive with Canadian production should be allowed to increase by about 5 to 10 per cent in years when the Canadian economy is buoyant, when the level of unemployment is not above normal levels and when demand for the products in question is rising.

In what I have said I would not wish to leave the impression that imports should automatically increase by this amount in products where the Canadian market has already been flooded or that in extreme cases some cut-back should not be considered. On the other hand, this does not exclude larger increases for products where Canadian industries are not experiencing difficulties.

Canadians have followed with much interest the development of the Japanese Government's intention to double its national income within ten years. The growth of Japan's export trade will obviously have an important role to play in the realization of this objective.

I should point out that the difficulties which have arisen in Canada as regards trade, result not from the total level of imports from Japan but from a concentration in particularly sensitive lines such as textiles and other consumer products. I suggest that Japanese businessmen should make detailed first-hand studies of the Canadian market and try to diversify Japan's exports to Canada over a wider range of commodities. Japanese exporters might explore the opportunities for exporting to Canada capital equipment, machinery, and semi-finished products, especially goods of a kind not made in Canada.



With regard to sensitive commodities which compete directly with Canadian-made products, I hope that Japanese businessmen will remember that Canadian manufacturing industries are small compared with those of some other countries and can suffer severe damage or even be destroyed by a flood of very low-priced imported merchandise.

Canada attaches major importance to Japan as a large and growing market for Canadian exports, particularly for exports of foodstuffs and industrial materials, as well as for a modest range of manufactured goods.

Canadians have been following with approval Japan's plans for the progressive liberalization of imports. The implementation of these plans, coupled with the removal of restrictions which remain on certain Canadian exports to Japan, will be welcomed by the Government and by Canadian businessmen.

#### Principle of Orderly Marketing

When Prime Minister Ikeda visited Canada earlier this year we agreed on the principle of orderly marketing, and we saw good prospects for the expansion of trade on an orderly basis.

I am optimistic about the future development of mutual trade between Canada and Japan. Trade is essential to both Japan and Canada, and it is in the long-term interest of both nations that the trade between us should develop on a basis of mutual agreement and understanding.

Problems are bound to arise from time to time, but with good will on both sides, and a readiness to understand each other's difficulties, I feel sure that solutions will be found consistent with the expansion of two-way trade.

As partners in the community of freedom and as neighbours across the Pacific, we cannot afford to allow commercial difficulties to obscure the paramount need for co-operation in free mankind's never-ending search for peace and world stability.

To summarize I would like to say that the Canadian Government considers that there is no reason why Japan's exports to Canada should not enjoy a large measure of growth in the next ten years, provided that this trade develops on the basis of orderly marketing.







CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/2

## PAST AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

A Year-End Message by the Secretary of  
State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard Green,  
December 29, 1961.

The beginning of a new year is a time for reflection about the events of the preceding 12 months and about the prospects for the future.

1961 produced its share of setbacks - disappointments and periods of dangerous tension. In Berlin, in the Congo, in Southeast Asia there were developments which at times threatened the world with armed conflict. The Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear tests on a massive scale intensified the fear that nuclear war might occur in spite of the general realization of its awful consequences. The United Nations, to which people look more and more for a solution to international problems, was itself beset by an internal crisis which made many fear for its future - especially when tragedy removed its devoted servant Dag Hammarskjöld.

Yet responsible leaders would be doing a disservice to mankind if they were to dwell exclusively on the difficulties which characterized 1961 - without acknowledging the advance and solid achievements of that year. Indeed we should not lose sight of the all-important fact that major conflict was avoided and that as the year closed, the processes of negotiation and conciliation were at work - or in prospect in most of the world's trouble spots.

### Two Areas of Crisis

In Berlin for example, the deadline imposed by the Soviet Union was lifted, a development which brought with it a resumption of diplomatic contacts and improved prospect of a negotiated settlement where a few months earlier the worst crisis of the year had arisen.

In Southeast Asia and in particular in Laos a dangerous trend of events at the beginning of the year had been checked and the ground-work for a negotiated settlement laid. This was done through the convening in Geneva in May of a 14-nation



conference to search for a formula for the independence and permanent neutrality of that unhappy state. A substantial measure of progress has rewarded the patient efforts of the negotiators and, despite continuing difficulties, there is still hope that an agreement will be signed early in the new year. Success could mean not only peace in Laos - but a promising formula for dealing with other areas which are a source of friction between East and West.

In the Congo, the United Nations force has continued to demonstrate its ability to respond to the varied demands made upon it during the year. Mind you, this was a new experiment in the peace-keeping function of the United Nations and naturally serious difficulties have been encountered - but the general course and direction of the United Nations' role cannot be questioned. Were it not for the United Nations' presence, the Congo would probably sink into tribal strife and might even become the scene of a great-power conflict. Canada continues to participate in the United Nations Congo force and to support the aims of the world organization, confident that there is no real alternative to United Nations assistance if peace is to return to that part of Africa.

### Increased UN Stature

The United Nations itself - the only body which truly reflects the state of international relations - has gained in stature during the year. The internal crisis created by the death of Dag Hammarskjöld and which for a time threatened its very existence, was overcome in a satisfactory way through the assumption of the office of Secretary-General by U Thant of Burma. The administration of his office in the weeks that have passed since his election gives promise that he will continue the traditions of selfless leadership and wise judgment which have come to be associated with the office of Secretary-General. The fact that the crisis was weathered without sacrifice of Charter principle or derogation from the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General is a source of both satisfaction and potential future strength for the United Nations.

### Progress toward Disarmament

In the field of disarmament, considerable progress was made during 1961. From the time when 10-nation disarmament committee negotiations were broken off in June 1960, the Canadian Government has pressed to have the talks restarted. Intensive discussions behind the scenes at the sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations finally led to agreement on a statement of principles to guide future disarmament negotiations and on a satisfactory negotiating forum. The enlarged and more representative composition of the disarmament committee, to which eight uncommitted nations have been added, should bring new ideas on the problem and should give greater assurance that the talks when resumed will be continued without interruption until a workable scheme for actual measures of disarmament is devised.





The need for real progress towards disarmament has never been more graphically illustrated than by the explosion by the Soviet Union of a monster bomb this year. Mankind will never live easily or free from fear so long as this menace exists - and the overwhelming majority of nations clearly and courageously expressed their condemnation of the Soviet Union's disregard for human welfare in the vote of the United Nations calling on the Soviet Union to refrain from exploding the super bomb. That appeal went unheeded but it was a demonstration of the effectiveness of the United Nations as a forum for the mobilization of world opinion.

### Aid for Developing Nations

In recalling the accomplishments of the past year, we may also take encouragement from the continuance and expansion of efforts to assist the growth of the developing countries. While an immense amount remains to be done, it bodes well for the future that the more industrialized countries continue to recognize an obligation to assist the less developed nations to improve their standards of living. Canada for her part is putting more than \$60 million into programmes in Africa and Asia - and has joined the Economic Commission for Latin America - as an earnest of her deep interest in the welfare of the countries of those regions.

### War on Want

There is one project in this field in which Canada takes particular pride. I refer to the World Food Programme which was recently endorsed by an overwhelming majority at the United Nations. While the exact nature of this programme remains to be settled by the 20-nation committee recently set up by the United Nations, the initial objective is the elimination of famine and malnutrition in areas of chronic food shortage. Canada will participate in the initial 3-year programme and will contribute about \$5 million in cash and foodstuffs to the proposed \$100-million programme. We are confident that this enlightened humanitarian project will enlist the widespread international support essential to its ultimate success.

New problems and difficulties in international affairs certainly lie ahead, but we must not approach them in a spirit of pessimism and distrust. The future stands open to our initiative. I know that we can do a good deal, not only at the national level, but at the level of each single individual. Were I to dedicate this year-end message to anyone, I would dedicate it to the ordinary people of the world whose individual pleas are seldom heard, but whose collective efforts will in the end direct the tide of history into channels where peace, freedom and human brotherhood can flourish.





CANADA,

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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[OTTAWA - CANADA]

No. 62/3

## CANADA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

Partial notes for an address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, to a combined meeting of Hamilton Chambers of Commerce, Hamilton, Ontario, December 7, 1961.

Another subject on which I should like to talk to you tonight is the European Common Market. As you know, six countries of Europe - namely France, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg - agreed in 1957 to set up this Common Market. Britain is now negotiating terms of entry with The Six.

There is no need to emphasize the great complexity of these European developments and their many implications for the rest of the world. There has been a tendency to oversimplify the issues raised, perhaps in an effort to find simple ready-made solutions. Misunderstanding has often been the result - misunderstanding of some of the problems concerned and misunderstanding of the Canadian Government's position. I should like to explain to you the main issues as we see them.

Let us first look at the Common Market. The Six have strong political reasons to unite. They wished to bring France and Germany closer together. They realized that working together they could play a more effective role in world affairs. They also hope that their Community will lead to expanded trade and a faster rate of economic growth.

### Vast Free-Trade Area

So far, their expectations have been largely realized: they have achieved a high level of prosperity and within a few years they will have formed a vast area of free trade with common institutions, where labour and capital will also move freely. They already have a leading position in world trade. Together they account for more than a quarter of total world trade.

In Canada we understand the political motivation that has created the Common Market. On the other hand, we consider that its prosperity should not be realized at the expense of outside countries. We have made very clear to The Six that a





highly protective tariff on such commodities as aluminum, wood pulp, newsprint, lead and zinc would be harmful to our trade.

We have made it equally clear that a protectionist common agricultural policy would have severe effects on our agricultural exports to the Common Market and be a source of grave concern.

In the tariff negotiations now taking place in Geneva under GATT we are making every effort to secure reasonable access to the Common Market. The Six understand our position and the scope of the interests we have at stake. Our policy is to protect these interests.

### Britain and the Common Market

I turn now to the negotiations between Britain and the Common Market. Britain is at the centre of a worldwide trading system in which the production facilities of many Commonwealth countries have been created to supply the British market. The adoption of the Common Tariff of The Six by Britain and of a protectionist agricultural policy, without arrangements designed to protect Commonwealth interests, could not fail to destroy important and beneficial features of this system.

What would be our own position?

Our agricultural and fisheries products, instead of entering the British market duty free or with a preference as they now do, would have to enter what might be a highly protected market. These agricultural and fisheries exports to Britain were valued at \$300 million last year, or 33 percent of our total exports of \$915 million.

Many of our raw materials which now enter the British market duty free would face a tariff. For instance, the present common tariff for aluminum is 10 percent, for wood pulp 6 percent, and 7 percent for newsprint. Our total raw materials exports to Britain in 1960 were valued at \$510 million.

With respect to our manufactured and semi-manufactured exports, which accounted for \$105 million last year, we would not only lose our preferential access to the British market vis-a-vis The Six, but reverse preferences would be created in their favour. In other words, while their exports to Britain now face a higher tariff than the one we enjoy, they would be entering the British market duty free while we should have to face a higher tariff than now.



### Effects on Canada's Trade

I shall not attempt to give you a complete and detailed description of the effects on our trade which we could expect from British membership in the Common Market. I emphasize, however, that all sectors of our trade would be affected in one way or another. This is a serious prospect. This trade amounts to 17 percent of our total exports. It contributes substantially to prosperity and jobs in this country. These developments are important to Canada. We also recognize that they present important and difficult problems for Britain.

The British decision to initiate negotiations with The Six has not been an easy one to make. It was made after very serious consideration. They felt that Britain could not remain aloof, that Britain should share in Europe's growing prosperity and that Britain should be a partner in shaping the political future of Europe. In his statement at the opening of the negotiations with The Six, the responsible British Minister, Mr. Heath, said that this development "will effect profoundly the way of life, the political thought and even the character of each one of our peoples".

Last summer the British Government asked for our views. We gave our views because we wanted to ensure that Britain would have the fullest information on the implications for Canada and the rest of the Commonwealth. We never questioned Britain's right to make its own decision.

### Anglo-Canadian Consultation.

The British Government is now making every effort to protect Commonwealth interests in its negotiations with The Six. For our part, we intend to continue to let the British Government know how our interests might be affected by developments in the negotiations now taking place in Brussels. Only in this way can Britain at all times remain fully aware of all the factors which have to be taken into account in providing accommodation for Commonwealth interests.

Difficult negotiations lie ahead. It will not be easy to protect Canadian and Commonwealth interests.

This is true even with the opportunities for expanding trade which will be created by high levels of prosperity in Europe. We are not attempting to turn the clock back on the great developments in the pattern of world forces resulting from European integration. But these benefits will be ours only if the policies of the Common Market are conducive to greater trade.

Few countries have at stake such diversified interests as Canada. The decisions to be made in the months to come are of importance to all - to those who are helping to develop the natural resources of Canada, and to those who are building the





manufacturing strength of this country. There is no easy solution that will satisfy all our diversified interests.

### Membership in Market?

Some people claim that the solution to our problem could be found if Canada were to become a member or an associate member of the Common Market. These people fail to realize that, under the terms of the Common Market treaty, membership is limited to European countries.

What about associate membership?

The former dependent overseas territories of Common Market countries are at the present time associated with The Six under special arrangements designed to fit the needs of former colonial possessions in the early stages of development. Clearly, this solution is not applicable to Canada.

Greece is the only country which has negotiated a special agreement with the Common Market, under Article 238 of the Rome Treaty -- that is, the Article providing for association. Greece is not only an European country, but it is in the course of development, and it has particular ties with Common Market members.

It is most unlikely that Canada would be welcome as an associate member in the Common Market. We must be realistic about this. Some of The Six themselves are important agricultural producers. Can we expect them to welcome a country such as Canada with a large agricultural production needing access to markets abroad? There is therefore no proof that associate status offers an answer to Canada's problem.

The Government is giving careful attention at this time to all the possible courses of action. We are not rejecting any possible approach, although we must, of course, make a careful assessment of which ones would or would not be practicable. We shall take any constructive action required to serve Canada's interests.

All the important trading countries of the world, including Canada, at a meeting in Geneva last week, agreed to explore new techniques for reducing trade barriers. The Canadian Government will take an active part in these continuing discussions.

I welcome the growing evidence that the United States Government is accepting the heavy responsibilities which arise from its leading position among the nations of the world.

Our growth in the future as in the past will depend to a great extent on international trade. Canadians should weigh carefully the effects the Brussels negotiations could have on their own interests. I am confident that the examination by



Canadian business of the complex issues with which Canada is faced will confirm that the Government's stand is reasonable and responsible.

We shall continue to make every effort to improve opportunities for Canadian trade abroad - our record will show that we have this policy very much at heart. Our vigorous export promotion campaign is opening new markets abroad. Canadian exports have increased by 12 percent of our legitimate interests and aspirations. We in our turn shall be prepared to play our part in whatever changes may lie ahead.

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s/c



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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/4

### COLONIALISM, WEST AND EAST

Partial notes for an address by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, to the Ethnic Groups, Toronto, November 22, 1961.

The United Nations has before it resolutions placed there by the newly-emerging states of Africa and Asia advocating freedom, self-determination and independence of colonial peoples.

The U.S.S.R., with its awful record for denying national freedom, self-determination and independence of so many peoples behind the Iron Curtain, has put forward a resolution.

For Communist Russia to pose as the champion of human liberty and the liberator of captive peoples is a complete travesty of truth.

The tirades of abuse by the U.S.S.R. on colonialism are designed to promote disturbance and furtherance of Communist domination abroad and to hide the subjugation of captive peoples

Canada's concern over the problem of these persons is based on the demand that fundamental human rights and freedom should be fully respected, including the national right of self-determination on grounds of race, colour and creed.

#### Canada's Concern

Although Canada has no direct involvement in colonial administration, Canadians have a genuine interest in wishing to promote the evolution from colony to nationhood for all subject peoples everywhere who desire that status and at a rate of development which is governed only by practical considerations of internal stability.

The preoccupation of new states with their problems of economic and social development is fully understandable. It is incumbent on all governments to be concerned with the well-being of their people and to seek for them improved standards of living. It is incumbent on Western nations to be conscious,



moreover, of the responsibility which rests on the highly developed countries to give assistance to the new nations striving for economic and social betterment.

As one of the industrialized countries, Canada has accepted its share of that responsibility. Our action in this regard is motivated quite simply by a desire to help the less-developed states to achieve that degree of independence which can be a political reality only if it rests solidly on economic stability.

What is the record?

Among the Western nations there has been tremendous progress among their colonies towards freedom and independence, while on the Soviet side there has been progressive annexation of helpless states and people. A comparison of the Western and Communist countries reveals two cavalcades of political change since the end of World War I moving in opposite directions, - the one among the Western nations towards the light of freedom, the other into the darkness of subjugation.

#### What Soviet Charges Ignore

The Soviet Union at the UN contends that 88 territories under the sovereignty of other nations, having a total population of 71,100,000, will still be under colonial rule on January 1, 1962. But it says nothing about the progress that has been made in recent years. The Soviets do not mention the 850 million people in some 37 countries which have achieved political independence since 1945 from non-Communist countries. The Soviets are significantly silent about the 96 million non-Russian people living under Soviet rule who have never been given an opportunity to decide whether they wished to remain part of the Soviet empire.

The Soviets present a lurid picture of bloodshed and violence in non-Communist colonial areas, but they take no account of the peaceful development within the Commonwealth, under the leadership of the United Kingdom, which has made freedom and independence a living reality for 586 million people in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Ghana, Nigeria, Cyprus, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika. The Soviet version ignores completely the political freedom, the administrative experience and the material resources which the Commonwealth countries of Asia and Africa have derived from their association in the Commonwealth.

In 1939 more than one-third of all mankind lived in dependent status under the colonial rule of Western European countries. Today fewer than two percent remain in that status. In the United Nations, no less than one-third of the members are states which have attained their independence since 1945. This is an impressive story of achievement and it is continuing.





## Soviet Empire

The Soviet Union, while pretending otherwise, is a colonial power and a colossus of empires.

It dominates, subjugates and exploits vast areas of Asia and of the Caucasus, initially colonized in the nineteenth century and earlier by Imperial Russia, using them as a source of cheap raw materials, cheap labour and as a captive market.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union, by force of arms, has deprived highly-developed countries of their independence, deported tens of thousands of their citizens to misery and death, exploited their riches and ruthlessly suppressed every attempt on the part of their people to maintain any semblance of national identity.

The facts are well-known: after seeking and obtaining Hitler's agreement, the Soviet Army in 1940 marched into Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, into Eastern Poland and into Bessarabia, and by military and police power transformed these countries and parts of countries into colonial provinces of the Soviet Union.

## A Familiar Story

This was the course followed in 1919 when the Red Army trampled on newly-attained independence of the Ukraine. This occurred while the new Bolshevik Government of Russia was piously declaring that, under its new nationality policy, every part of the former Russian Empire was free to go its own way. The same story could be told of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia.

Soviet representatives will tell us that the peoples of these subject countries invited the Soviet Army to invade them because what they wanted most was to become part of the Soviet Union.

Is there any sovereign state in the world - independent, democratic, economically vigorous and having a high standard of living - which would willingly invite military occupation and political subjugation by a large neighbour? Would such subjugation be welcomed when that neighbour had a lower living standard, had no democratic institutions and was under the rule of dictatorship?

No free country would invite such invasion and subjugation. The peoples of the Ukraine, the Baltic countries, or other Eastern European countries, of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia did not invite it. They had it thrust upon them. They were never given an opportunity to choose freedom. They are still being denied the right by the U.S.S.R. which the U.S.S.R. contends should be the right of all peoples.





Is the Soviet Union to be the only colonial power remaining in the world? Why should the Soviet empire be more sacrosanct than any other? Different rules do not and should not apply to Soviet imperialists. There must be no double standards in the United Nations.

The United Nations Declaration makes no distinction as to the colour or race of people subjected to alien domination and exploitation; it does not qualify the right of peoples to self-determination. It uses the all-embracing word "all" in the preamble that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory."

It does not exclude the Soviet Union from the injunction against "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples."

### Monstrous Hypocrisy

The Soviet Union has issued an explanatory memorandum in connection with the debate on granting independence to colonial countries. I draw your attention to one passage in the Soviet memorandum which I consider not only inaccurate but so monstrous in its hypocrisy. I quote from the document:

"The United Nations organization must demand that the population of each colony immediately be given .. universal suffrage, freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the freedom to create their national political parties, trade unions, and other public organizations."

In the countries under Soviet rule and domination, there is no freedom of speech, no press except that controlled by the government, no political party but the ruling one, no trade unions with the power to make and enforce demands against management. These rights and institutions, so much a part of the democratic way of life, are not only systematically denied in the Soviet empire; it is part of Soviet doctrine that they must be subverted in other lands, if the Communist revolution is to achieve its world-wide aims. Yet the Soviet Union uses the language of freedom to promote the aims of Communist slavery.

"He who accuses another man of shameful conduct should take care to keep himself blameless." (Plautus)

History will judge each nation by the efforts it makes to eradicate what remains of injustice and discrimination in its internal and external dealings.

Within the last several days there have been discussions in the United Nations on resolutions regarding colonialism. These discussions are related to countries other than the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. is giving its support to the Asian and African nations which sponsor these resolutions.





I believe that there should be brought before the Assembly the whole problem of Soviet colonialism which I dealt with at the United Nations in September 1960.

For too long the U.S.S.R. and its satellites have been permitted to take the offensive against colonialism elsewhere while concealing their own.

Consideration has been given by me to the proposing of a resolution in the United Nations in condemnation of Soviet Communist enslavement of many nations and peoples.

I have concluded that such a resolution would not have been opportune or effective this year as the other resolutions in this field before the present session of the Assembly have focussed the attention of member states on progress towards independence of the remaining dependent territories in Africa and Asia. However, I hope that the Canadian Government can through consultation secure sufficient international support to bring about United Nations consideration of Soviet colonialism at the next session of the Assembly.

In thanking you for this reception this evening, I will conclude by saying that many of you know Communism at first hand and you have a contribution to make to Canada in making other Canadians who have not had your experience more fully aware of the tyranny and infamy with which Communism destroys the soul of freedom wherever it takes over.

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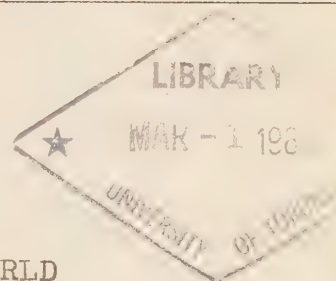
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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 62/5

## CANADA'S TRADE IN A CHANGING WORLD

Speech by Mr. Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance, to the Canadian Club of Winnipeg on January 19, 1962.

... As the centre of Canada's grain industry and the gateway to our great Western provinces, which, as much as any area in the world, live by trade, Winnipeg has always had a deep-rooted and lively interest in matters of international commerce. I propose, therefore, to speak to you today about some of the major trade issues now confronting Canada and, indeed, the world.

Canada has what has been called an "exposed" economy. More than other countries, we are profoundly affected by international economic developments. In volume we rank fourth among the great trading nations of the world and, on a per capita basis, first. It should surprise no one, therefore, that the developments now occurring in Europe, the emergence of the European Economic Community and the possibility that the United Kingdom may join it, have aroused such deep interest in Canada. Hardly a day passes without some reference in the press and elsewhere to the great issues which face us in relation to these far-reaching changes in Europe. Many debates occur on how we can meet the challenges and seize the opportunities which they offer and, at the same time, avoid the dangers which they may involve.

### Confusion of Issues

Unfortunately, some contributions to this discussion have not always been factual, objective and constructive. This has led to muddying of the waters and some confusion of the issues. I should like to take this opportunity which you have so kindly offered me today to endeavour to clarify the situation.

Let me speak plainly. It has been alleged in some quarters that Canada has somehow shown hostility towards the United Kingdom in connection with their negotiations for accession to the European Common Market. I would like to say now, clearly, emphatically and without equivocation, that such charges are completely and utterly devoid of any foundation in truth. At no





time has there been anything remotely approaching coolness or hostility in our relations with the United Kingdom. We have never tried to make things difficult for the British. On the contrary, we have simply pointed out to them the implications for Canada and the Commonwealth which British accession to the European Economic Community could entail.

In discussing these issues with our British friends we have spoken frankly, but only when they invited us to express our views. No responsible government could have done less. Speaking frankly is a privilege reserved to those who are friends and our British friends were the first to appreciate this.

It is in this spirit of frankness and friendship that all Commonwealth countries participated at the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council meeting in Accra last September. Some mischievous people in this country have alleged that at the meeting Canada led an attack on the British decision to enter into negotiations for accession to the European Economic Community and confronted Britain with a choice between the Commonwealth and the Common Market. Nothing could be further from the truth. Obviously, the United Kingdom, like any other independent country, possesses the sovereign right to make its own decisions on matters of national policy. We have always recognized that Britain itself must take its own decision on vital matters and we said so plainly at Accra and on other occasions.

### British Testimony

Speaking about the Accra meeting which he attended, the Right Honourable Reginald Maudling, then President of Britain's Board of Trade, and a veteran of many such-conferences, said, in a speech delivered at Toronto on September 26, that it was "the best discussion we ever had", and that "everything that was said was reasonable". Similarly, a few weeks ago, Viscount Amory, the British High Commissioner to Canada and a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in a press interview in Toronto that Canada was "dead right to speak her mind plainly".

A fortnight ago, the Right Honourable Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, who is in charge of the British negotiations in Brussels, paid us a visit in Ottawa to report thereon and to seek our views. Among other things, we discussed arrangements to assist the United Kingdom negotiators in the next phase of the negotiations by making available to them full and up-to-date information about every aspect of Canada's trade interests. We offered to send a high-level team of Canadian officials to Brussels for this purpose and Mr. Heath warmly accepted this offer. This meeting was not only one of the most productive but also one of the most cordial we ever had with out British friends.



## The Main Issues

Let me turn now to some of the main issues raised for Canada by the United Kingdom decision to negotiate for membership in the European Economic Community. Like other countries of the Commonwealth we are facing two areas of uncertainty. First, what might United Kingdom membership in the European Economic Community imply for the future of Canada's trade and economic relations with the United Kingdom? Second, what could be the political and economic effects of such membership on the Commonwealth association itself?

Our trade and economic relations with the United Kingdom have steadily expanded in recent years to the benefit of both countries. After the United States, Britain is Canada's largest export market, taking now close to one billion dollars' worth of our exports annually. A great variety of products of interest to every region of Canada and to most of our industries makes up this total; for a number of these commodities, of which wheat and flour are outstanding examples, the United Kingdom is Canada's principal external market.

If you compare the terms of access which our exports enjoy in the British market with the common tariff of the European Economic Community countries, you will see that, of total Canadian sales of \$915 million to the United Kingdom in 1960, \$691 million, or 76 per cent, could be affected in greater or lesser degree if the United Kingdom were to join the Common Market. Much, of course, would depend on the terms of entry which the British proved able to negotiate. To illustrate, let us see what would happen on the extreme assumption that the United Kingdom adopted the Common Market tariff and the proposed common agricultural policy of the Community without any exceptions. In such a situation, we would lose the tariff preferences we now enjoy in the British market for a great variety of Canadian exports. We would be faced with tariffs where now there are none for virtually all our exports. Far from continuing to enjoy preferences ourselves, we would be treated less favourably than Britain's European partners who would be enjoying free entry in the British market. Perhaps most important of all, the United Kingdom would cease to be an open market for many Canadian agricultural products, especially wheat and flour. The Continental system in agriculture to which Britain would have to adapt is based on high price supports buttressed by tariffs, import quotas and other restrictive measures. With these considerations in mind, we have urged the United Kingdom in negotiating accession to the European Economic Community to secure the fullest safeguards possible to maintain our traditional access to this essential market.

In these discussions we were mindful not only of our own interest in keeping the United Kingdom market open for our goods, but also of the other Commonwealth countries and of the broad interests of the Commonwealth as an association. I need not





elaborate on the reasons for Canada's whole-hearted attachment to that unique association which is the Commonwealth of Nations. Spanning five continents, linking with common bonds peoples of different races and creeds, the Commonwealth is not only the first, but, to date, the only example of a real family of nations. As such it is a major factor in international stability and peace. Like all families we have had our differences, like all human associations, ours is not a perfect one; but, by and large, our aims have been common, and, where they diverged, we have brought our differences to the conference table and discussed them as members of a family.

Our attachment to the Commonwealth, however, would be nothing but empty sentimentality if it did not find expression in a determination to preserve the strength and vigour of the Commonwealth that it may play its ever-increasing and beneficent role in international affairs. It is this concern which, in common with the other Commonwealth countries, we expressed to the United Kingdom in our discussions with them. We urged the United Kingdom to safeguard her important trade and economic links with Commonwealth countries because we fully recognize that the United Kingdom is the pivot of the Commonwealth and that the Commonwealth would be seriously weakened unless the United Kingdom remained in a position to play a full and active part.

### Protecting Commonwealth Interests

The British have made it clear to us that, in their negotiations with the European Economic Community, they are determined to safeguard Commonwealth interests. Indeed, they have assured us and the other members of the Commonwealth that, unless they can secure terms which will adequately safeguard the essential interests of Commonwealth countries, they will not join the Common Market. We do not doubt and we have never for one moment doubted the determination of the United Kingdom to endeavour to obtain the necessary safeguards.

We must recognize that, even at best, Canada and other Commonwealth countries would have to face some trade adjustments should the United Kingdom join the Common Market. In the new pattern of international trading relationships which is likely to emerge, losses in one direction will have to be offset by gains in another if we are to succeed in expanding international trade and in raising living standards throughout the world. The changing international economic scene may well compel adjustments in Canada's own commercial policies as well as in the policies of the other important trading countries. In recognition of this possibility, we have been hard at work exploring all possible ways of furthering the vital trade interests of this country.

Some Canadians have suggested that a solution for Canada might be found in joining or associating ourselves with the European Economic Community. Let us examine this suggestion.





What is the European Economic Community? Is it open to us to join it or seek an association? If we could, would it be in our interests to do so?

### EEC Described

Let me first outline the nature of the European Economic Community. Six European countries seeking closer integration, partly for economic and partly for political reasons, signed in March 1957 what has come to be known as the Treaty of Rome, which provides for the establishment of their Common Market. By the end of this decade these countries will have abolished all tariff and other trade barriers against each other and will have erected a common tariff against imports from the rest of the world. In addition to this, the Six have set for themselves other important economic and social objectives. But, more important, the political objective of creating a nucleus of a united Europe lies at the very core of the movement which found its culmination in the signing of the Treaty of Rome. The countries concerned have never made a secret of their political purposes. Indeed, a committee which was recently established by the European Economic Community governments is now actively at work studying plans for closer political union on the basis of proposals put forward by France.

This brief outline brings out three essential facts: first, the European Economic Community is, above all, European; second, in addition to being an economic association it has overriding political aims; third, it is not a free-trade organization seeking members.

Might Canada join or become associated with the European Economic Community if we so wished? In the light of what I have just said, it is not surprising that the Treaty of Rome provides in the plainest terms for the accession of European countries alone to membership. As regards association, a group of articles of the Treaty (Part Four) make provision for the associate membership of overseas territories. Obviously this provision has no application to Canada. A further article provides that: "The Community may conclude with a third country, a union of states or an international organization agreements creating an association embodying reciprocal rights and obligations, joint action and special procedures." The Six have made it quite clear, however, that the countries to which this last article applies are the less-developed countries of Europe, such as Greece, which has already signed a treaty of association with the European Economic Community.

Treaties can, of course, be amended by the parties thereto, so let us go beyond the formal position. Is there any likelihood that the European countries would wish Canada as a member or as an associate?





### No Associate Tie for Canada

I have myself heard the opinion clearly expressed by high-ranking and influential European statesmen that membership or association for such a non-European country as Canada would radically change the entire character of the Community and would be inconsistent with its most cherished objective: a tightly knit, politically unified Europe. Needless to say, we have not been asked to join and, let's face it, we would not be welcomed if we sought to apply for membership or association.

It seems to me that people who have advocated that Canada join the European Economic Community have not been aware of these plain facts. Nor have they really examined the terms of the Treaty of Rome or what the economic and trade effects would be for Canada. There is no doubt that we would be expected to remove all tariffs against the Community. This would open up the whole Canadian market to their goods which, as you know, are made up very largely of manufactures. The European Economic Community, on the other hand, would never consent to opening up their markets to the free flow of our agricultural products. Although they have agreed on the main conditions for a common agricultural policy by no means all their internal agricultural problems have as yet been resolved. What sort of bargain would it be for Canada if some of our major exports could not receive access comparable with their access to our market? Quite apart from the balance of the bargain, it is difficult to see how we could pursue our national objective of promoting a balanced economic structure in this country in circumstances where our markets for manufactured goods were wide open to the unrestricted competition of the highly efficient and low-cost industries of Europe.

The fact that we cannot join the European Economic Community does not imply any lack of sympathy for its objectives. We see great potential merit in what is now taking place in Europe and, provided these efforts are oriented in the right direction, we, as friends, trading partners and allies of the Six, stand to gain from the economic strengthening of the Continent. I wish to make this quite clear to you: if we have any vested interest in Europe at all, this interest, cultural, political, economic and strategic, lies in a strong Europe. At the same time, it is only right and proper that we should be concerned about the direction which European developments may take. A cohesive Europe, to be really strong and to make an effective contribution to world affairs, must not be built at the expense of the trade and economic interests of other countries. For these reasons the United States and Canada have urged the Six to follow outward-looking policies rather than those restrictive of trade abroad.

Canada has vital and growing trade interests in the six countries of the Common Market. We are trading substantially with this area now and we have been making powerful efforts to expand this trade. At almost half a billion dollars, our exports



to the countries that now form the European Economic Community were four times greater in 1960 than ten years earlier. We shall seek to preserve and expand the opportunities which this important market offers to us but we shall not attempt to do this on the basis of a regional association.

### Presidential Agreement

In this connection, I am reminded of the words President Kennedy used when he addressed the National Association of Manufacturers on December 6, 1961. Referring to the new American trade initiative which he is now submitting to Congress, the President said:

"I am not proposing, nor is it either necessary or desirable, that we join the Common Market, alter our concepts of political sovereignty, establish a 'rich man's' trading community, abandon our traditional most-favoured-nations policy, create an Atlantic free-trade area, or impair in any way our close economic ties with Canada, Japan and the rest of the free world."

These words apply with even greater force, to our own situation. Like the United States, our trade and economic interests are far-flung. Only we depend relatively much more on foreign trade than they do. Just as our southern neighbour has political interests all over the world, so our own political interests are very wide, embracing many areas and countries. We have a European heritage and we are a member of the Atlantic Community but we also value our membership in the Commonwealth, we are a country of North America, we have close relations with the United States, and we have developed increasing trade bonds with third countries such as Japan.

We cannot, any more than the United States can, seek to further our national economic and political objectives through a narrow regional approach. Inevitably, such an approach would force us to choose between the wide variety of interests which contribute to our identity and our prosperity. And this would be - let there be no doubt about it - an agonizing choice, indeed.

Happily it is not a choice we are forced to make. I am firmly convinced that whatever problems emerge from current regional developments in Europe can and must be solved on a broad basis, in keeping with our interests and with the interests which all the countries of the free world hold in common.

### Multilateral Solutions

Because of the world-wide nature of our interests to which I have just referred, we have always favoured multilateral solutions to world economic problems. We have been, and continue to be, active members of the international organizations such as





GATT and the International Monetary Fund, which were created after the war to further the multilateral trade and payments system. It is not without interest that the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which groups together 20 countries of Europe and North America and of which I have the honour to be Chairman, reaffirmed, at its recent ministerial meeting in Paris, its fundamental aim to further the expansion of world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis.

You may ask, what do I mean when I speak of multi-lateral solutions to current world economic problems? I have in mind that the new pattern of world trading arrangements emerging from the creation of the European Common Market and its possible enlargement in Europe raises fundamental problems for the entire free world. It follows from this that effective solutions cannot be found by Canada or any other single country acting alone, but will require the collective efforts of all the principal trading countries. They will also require the constructive and imaginative leadership of the United States as the principal world power and the central bastion of the alliance of free nations.

#### Bold U.S. Initiative

We are fortunate in witnessing these days the display of just such leadership on the part of the United States. I am referring, of course, to the new trade programme which President Kennedy is submitting to Congress. This bold and far-reaching initiative is principally designed, as you know, to permit the United States to negotiate on the basis of the gradual elimination of tariffs in the United States and the Common Market over a wide variety of goods which are mainly produced in these areas and to permit a gradual reduction of duties up to 50 per cent on other goods.

The United States trade programme is in line with the sort of solution to current world economic problems which we have been consistently advocating. If President Kennedy is successful in obtaining the required authority from Congress, and if the European and other trading countries are prepared to play their part, I have no doubt that together we shall be able to make important progress in the expansion of world trade.

In his "State-of-the-Union" message, President Kennedy said that all tariff reductions would be on a "most-favoured-nation" basis. It follows, therefore, that all GATT countries, including, of course, Canada, would be given the benefit of lowered United States and European Economic Community trade barriers. This fact was emphasized last Saturday by members of the United States Cabinet at our meeting in Ottawa. It follows, of course, that countries receiving such benefits in substantial measure will be expected to make some contribution of their own.



The seventh meeting of the Joint Canada-U.S. Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, consisting of designated cabinet members of both countries, last week was one of the most valuable we have ever held. We had a full discussion of the need to expand world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis and an equally full discussion of the United States trade expansion programme. This was particularly timely as our meeting began the day after the "State-of-the-Union" message. Let me read to you from our agreed communiqué on this subject:

"Canadian ministers reiterated their support for the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis, and Canada's readiness to play a constructive role in the promotion of freer world trade. United States members welcomed this statement and pointed out that the United States had consistently supported these objectives for many years. The Committee recognized the importance of the recent decision at the GATT ministerial meeting to explore new arrangements for the multilateral reduction of trade barriers and for moving toward freer trade. The United States members emphasized that the new trade legislation being sought at this Session of Congress is intended to contribute substantially to this objective.

"The United States members explained the general nature and purposes of the trade expansion programme which the United States Administration will be submitting to Congress, which, if approved, would enable the United States to make a greater contribution to the growth of international trade on a multilateral basis, and in this way contribute substantially to the strength and prosperity of the free world."

#### More Involved than Tariff Changes

We must recognize that, if the new trading world now being conceived is to conform to our collective aspirations, more will have to be achieved than an elimination or lowering of tariffs on manufactured products. The special interests of countries such as our own will have to be taken into account. In particular, access will have to be provided for agricultural exports which are now restricted by a variety of non-tariff devices. Attention will also have to be paid to the needs of the less-developed countries. In working out solutions for these problems we stand ready to play our full part.

These points were also emphasized in the communiqué issued by the Joint Committee last Saturday. Let me read what the communiqué said about agricultural trade:





"The Committee examined the problems inhibiting international trade in agricultural commodities and underlined the importance of securing international agreement on measures which would provide adequate access to world markets for agricultural producers. They agreed that such measures should take full account of the comparative advantage of production in agricultural commodities among different countries. United States and Canadian ministers expressed the hope that coming international discussions would effectively contribute to the freeing and expansion of international trade in agricultural products."

### Main Elements of Policy

From what I have said, I think you will agree that ours is a positive and forward-looking response to the challenges and opportunities which are emerging. Briefly stated, these are the main elements of our policy:

1. We shall continue through friendly co-operation with the British Government to assist them to safeguard the vital interests of Canada and other Commonwealth countries in their negotiations with the European Economic Community.
2. We desire to see our relations with Commonwealth countries, economic and other, preserved and strengthened and will work consistently to this end.
3. Through the GATT and in other ways, we will endeavour to maintain and enlarge our access to the European market and further in every way the expansion of our exports to this important area.
4. Together with the United States and other like-minded nations, we will play a constructive role in the promotion of freer world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis.
5. In the all-important area of agriculture we will co-operate in current international efforts to bring about more rational and equitable conditions of trade.
6. At home, we will work constantly for the improved efficiency and modernization of Canadian industry so that we can take full advantage of all opportunities which will become available for our exports under conditions of freer world trade.

We are in the midst of a dynamic, rapidly-changing world situation. We face many complex issues that present new challenges and new opportunities. We look to the future with courage and determination. But to be courageous is one thing and to be foolhardy quite another. And in the present situation only



the foolhardy would argue that there are easy solutions to the problems now before us. Let me be quite clear on this: there are no simple answers and I promise you none.

The situation is much too complex to permit anyone to be dogmatic about precise solutions. We must proceed with careful regard for the many and varied political and economic factors, national and international, which face us. A great deal of hard bargaining lies ahead; in some instances we will be participating directly; in others we may not be direct participants although our interests may be profoundly affected by the outcome. In participating in whatever negotiations may be required to reshape the world's trade and economic patterns in the face of the kind of developments I have outlined to you today, it will remain our policy to seek in every quarter the retention and expansion of our existing markets, and the winning of new ones.

It is a time for vigilance, alertness, co-operation and confidence. Canada has good friends in the free world. Working together with them as we are doing and maintaining a broad view of Canada's interests and potentialities we shall confront without fear the challenge of these eventful times.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 62/6

## MANKIND'S GREATEST PROBLEM - DISARMAMENT

An Address to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on March 19, 1962, by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard C. Green.

I begin my statement today on behalf of Canada by thanking the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations for the excellent facilities which have been made available. The presence of his representative at this table is of great significance. It emphasizes that all members of the United Nations are vitally concerned with the problem of disarmament. In my opinion, we should never lose sight of this fact in the course of our negotiations. It is obvious that the main purpose of the United Nations is to keep the peace. Of course, under present conditions, that means that disarmament becomes the most important problem of the United Nations, and that forum will always have the main responsibility for bringing about disarmament. There are several reasons why this conference has an unprecedented opportunity to make rapid progress toward agreement.

First, there is now an agreement on the basic principles of disarmament unanimously endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly. For the first time there is a common understanding about the objective to be reached, and the guide lines which should be followed in working toward it. As a result, we are in a position to move quickly from a general exchange of views to a detailed consideration of measures which will actually stop the competition in armaments and bring about substantial reductions from the present levels. In my personal opinion the problem of stopping the development of more deadly weapons is perhaps more important than that of bringing about measures of disarmament, although, of course, both problems are of vital importance.

Second, the new negotiating committee is representative of all major geographical areas of the world. This reflects the fact that disarmament is not the concern only of the great powers but of all countries, however large or however small. The presence at this table of the representatives of eight additional countries is, in my opinion, a major advantage. They will, I am sure, play a valuable role in avoiding the stalemates which have so often developed in past disarmament conferences.



Also, the fresh perspective which they bring to the negotiations will assist materially in the search for early agreement. And may I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the presence of these eight other nations has already been of deep significance as well as of great help to the opening phases of this conference.

### Economic Effects of Disarming

Third, we had just ten days ago the unanimous finding of the United Nations Committee on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament that general disarmament, far from producing adverse economic effects, would be an immense contribution to the advancement of human well-being. There can surely be no doubt that the reallocation of even part of the enormous resources now devoted to expenditure on armaments would open up unlimited possibilities for the improvement of living standards in all the nations, whatever their social system or whatever their stage of development.

Fourth, past experience has made us fully aware of the grave consequences which will follow if we permit these negotiations to fail or even to lose momentum. It is now almost two years since the work of the Ten-Nation Committee was broken off. This period has been marked by renewed international tension and a nuclear arms race of increased intensity, of which the resumption of nuclear testing is the most serious aspect. An even more serious deterioration in the international situation will result if our efforts here cannot bring about rapid agreement.

Finally, the increasingly devastating power of modern weapons has placed a new responsibility on the representatives who are gathered here. The very fact that all of us around this table fully recognize the immeasurable catastrophe which would result from a conflict involving such weapons in itself provides new motives for meeting the challenge which faces us. In my opinion we cannot allow another failure to establish an effective system of disarmament. If we do not succeed on this occasion, the world may not be given another chance.

As far as my delegation is concerned, we have come to Geneva with the firm intention to continue working without interruption until a comprehensive system of general disarmament has been agreed. At the same time we hope and expect to see initial agreements reached with the least possible delay. This committee is obliged to report to the United Nations Disarmament Committee by June 1, and the peoples of the world will expect a substantial measure of progress by then. The time factor is of vital significance in our work, and we should at once start to search for common ground. This is a case where, as we say in Canada, time is of the essence.

The agreed statement of principles forms the basis for discussion and negotiation at this conference. It follows that all measures of disarmament must be carefully phased and in balance with one another; and that reductions of national armaments





must be accompanied by improved international arrangements for maintaining peace and security.

### U.S. and Soviet Proposals

Two principal documents are available to the Committee. There is the programme of disarmament put forward by the United States on September 25, 1961. Canada participated in the drafting of this plan, and fully supports it. The United States representative has emphasized that these proposals have been put forward in a spirit of flexibility and compromise. That is a point to which Canada attaches great importance. In other words, these proposals are not put forward on a take it or leave it basis. There is also the draft treaty advanced by the representative of the Soviet Union, based on the Soviet plan of September 23, 1960.

These two documents are the result of a long period of study. This is not to say, however, that either of them represents the only solution to this disarmament problem. The eight new members of the committee will undoubtedly make suggestions of their own. Their views should provide a further valuable contribution to the solution of the problems before us, and they will receive very careful study by my delegation.

In considering the two plans which are now before us we should first seek out common elements on which there is a chance of early agreement. The United States proposals are presented in the form of a "programme", and the Soviet proposals in the language of a "draft treaty", but this is largely a difference of presentation. The substantive provisions contained in the two documents parallel one another in several respects, and I suggest that we should take full advantage of this fact in trying to define and enlarge the area of agreement between the two sides.

Starting from the joint statement of principles we should search out specific problems on which the two sides are close to agreement, and try to settle these as quickly as possible. Having achieved this, we should then go on to study problems on which the two sides are further apart -- first to clarify differences, and then to resolve them. In this way, my delegation believes, we can systematically move toward a comprehensive system of disarmament and complete the fulfilment of the tasks which have been given us.

### Areas for Rapid Agreement

I have suggested that we should begin our work with an examination of areas in which rapid agreement might be achieved. There are several examples which could be cited. The following list will help to illustrate the approach which my delegation has in mind.

The first example: The United States and Soviet proposals both provide for means of ensuring that rockets and satellites placed in orbit or launched into outer space will be



used for peaceful purposes only. Provision is also made for advance notification of an international disarmament organization about all such launchings. Both sides have an overriding interest in reaching an understanding which will ensure that scientific advances in this field serve only the cause of peace. There is therefore, Mr. Chairman, every reason why agreement should be reached in short order. And may I point out that just this morning we read in the newspapers a report of a United States offer to the Soviet Union of a joint space plan. All of this indicates that it should be fairly easy to reach agreement on this particular subject.

The second example: The United States proposals contain suggestions for observation posts and other procedures designed to reduce the risk of surprise attack or accidental war. Specific proposals to this effect do not appear in the new Soviet draft treaty, but similar ideas were advanced in the Soviet plan of September 23, 1960, and again in the memorandum submitted by the Soviet Union to the United Nations on September 26 of last year, 1961. The fear that war could break out through accident or miscalculation is a continuing source of international tension which increases as more and more dangerous weapons are developed. Both sides have a vital interest in removing these fears as soon as possible. Both sides have proposed measures which would provide means of doing so. Further negotiation, and a willingness to compromise, could produce agreement in this field.

#### Chemical and Germ Warfare

The third example: The United States plan calls for technical studies of means to deal with chemical and bacteriological weapons. The Soviet Union has also put forward a suggestion for joint studies in this area in its plan of September 23, 1960. In the opinion of my delegation, such technical studies should begin immediately. On the basis of existing proposals, it would appear that full agreement already exists on this point, and that there is no reason for further debate before concrete action is taken.

The fourth example: Provision is made in both plans -- although at different stages -- to cease production of fissile material for weapons purposes and to transfer existing stocks to peaceful uses. The increased amount of the initial end reductions proposed by the United States representative here on March 19 means that, by the time the second stage is completed, stockpiles will have been very greatly reduced. This fact brings the United States position much closer to the Soviet view that all such stockpiles should be eliminated in Stage II. In our opinion, further negotiation could bring about full agreement.

The fifth example: Both plans contain proposals designed to prohibit the wider spread of nuclear weapons. A resolution submitted by Ireland, calling for international agreement in this field, was endorsed by all the members of the United Nations at





the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, just a few months ago. What is required now is early action to bring this recommendation into force.

The sixth example: The United States programme and the Soviet draft treaty both call for reductions of conventional arms in the first stage. The Soviet plan provides for reductions proportionate to manpower cuts. At our second meeting, the representative of the United States put forward new proposals calling for a reduction by 30 per cent. My delegation believes that this development brings the views of the two major military powers closer together. Detailed negotiations should begin at once to remove remaining differences.

My seventh example is as follows: In the crucial field of nuclear disarmament the positions of the two sides have likewise been brought substantially closer by the significant new United States proposals for a 30 per-cent reduction of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles in the first stage. The Soviet draft treaty calls for the complete elimination of all such vehicles in the opening stage. Nevertheless, having in mind the magnitude of the initial cuts proposed by the United States, as well as the agreed principle of balance, my delegation believes that detailed negotiation should bring the two major military powers to agreement on phased reductions in this field.

### Second Type of Problem

In these seven areas, and there are probably others, we believe that an appreciable measure of common ground already exists. There is a second category of problems in which there remain more pronounced and generally well known differences between the two sides. I shall not dwell on them today, with the exception of the vital issue of stopping nuclear-weapons tests, which requires special mention.

Canada deeply regretted that the Soviet Union last August broke a three-year moratorium on testing for we are opposed to all nuclear-weapon tests. In this we share the view of most other countries. Indeed, the major nuclear powers themselves have stated at this very conference that they would like to see all tests stopped. However, they now find themselves unable to reach final accord owing to disagreement on inspection. Is there no alternative to another series of tests with all the harmful consequences that such action could bring? It is not possible, within the framework of this committee, to make the further effort which is required to break the deadlock? In my opinion, such an effort must be made, for otherwise the prospects of this conference itself could be seriously threatened. We already see, in dispatch after dispatch, stories that this disarmament conference is doomed to failure. These stories are based on the talks on nuclear-weapon tests which have taken place between the nuclear powers and in which the other representatives at this conference have not been involved at all. In the minds of the public the impression has been created, because of the disagreement





in these nuclear-test talks, that this conference is going to be a failure. This, I submit, is a very bad situation, and one which I hope will be clarified by the correspondents of all our countries. As a start, it would be most helpful to receive a report on these informal talks which have been taking place on this subject from the three participants. Countries which do not possess nuclear weapons cannot put a stop to these tests; however, we can and do appeal to the nuclear states to do everything in their power to see that a solution is not further delayed.

### Third Type of Problem

There is a third category of problems in which the extent and the nature of the disagreement between the two sides are far from clear. As representatives will have noticed, I referred earlier to cases where there is disagreement but where that disagreement is clear-cut and everyone understands what it is. What is required to resolve this third category of differences is, in the first instance, an intensive discussion which will demonstrate precisely what the position of the two sides are. We must find out exactly the position taken by the two sides. To avoid continued misunderstanding, the respective interests of the two sides should be brought into the light of day and the possibility of an accommodation of views examined in good faith.

One of the most fundamental problems requiring this kind of examination is the question of verification. Canada's willingness to contribute to a verified system of disarmament has been demonstrated by the offer which my Government has made, and which still stands, to throw open its northern areas for inspection in exchange for comparable rights in corresponding areas of Soviet territory.

In the opinion of my delegation, the best way to achieve a realistic solution of the problem of verification is to avoid any further discussion in the abstract. We should avoid abstract debates on the word "verification". Instead, there should be careful examination of each measure of disarmament, together with the specific verification procedures to ensure that all states carry out that particular disarmament measure. In other words, let us take a measure of disarmament and with it study the verification for that measure, rather than studying verification in general.

Let us take an example from the Soviet draft treaty to illustrate my point. Article 5 provides for the elimination of certain means of delivering nuclear weapons and for the cessation of the production. Paragraph 3 of this article provides that the implementation of these measures should be verified by inspectors of the international disarmament organization. The language of the Soviet draft treaty suggests that substantial inspection would be allowed over this measure of disarmament. What we need to clarify is how much the inspectors are to be allowed to see, and the conditions under which they would carry





out this work. Having done that, the committee would then be able to judge how adequate the inspection arrangements would be for verifying the execution of this particular measure.

In pursuing an examination of the problem of inspection, particularly in the area of disarmament which I have just mentioned, the application of sampling techniques as suggested by the United States representative should facilitate agreement. This approach ought to go a long way toward removing fears that inspection will be out of balance with disarmament or be used for any illegitimate purpose. We sincerely believe there is great hope of reaching an agreement on the question of verification through some type of sampling procedure.

The same method of careful, painstaking examination, rather than abstract debate, should be applied in other areas where important but ill defined differences appear to exist between the two sides.

### Procedural Proposals

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I should like to make some proposals concerning procedure. Ever since the breakdown of the Ten-Nation Committee nearly two years ago, Canada has been convinced that rapid progress in disarmament negotiations would require a more efficient procedure than has been adopted in the past. In particular, we believe that agreement on effective procedural arrangements is a matter of the first importance if a committee of this size, with 17 or 18 nations participating, is to operate effectively.

The immediate question is how to proceed from the present exchange of general views on disarmament to a detailed examination of the specific problems. In the opinion of my delegation, an effective working procedure would be as follows. First, an informal committee of the whole conference should be established on a continuing basis, with the number attending from each delegation being more limited than at plenary meetings. Second, the co-chairmen should be given the responsibility for presiding over this committee on alternate days. They should maintain close consultation with one another on the order of business. I think the plan we are following in plenary meetings of having rotating chairmen is very good -- although I know from personal experience that it is more or less an honorary position and puts one in the category of being king for a day. But we believe that for the informal committee it would be much wiser to have the co-chairmen in the chair on alternate days. Third, the emphasis in the committee should be on an informal and private method of work. There need be no list of speakers and no verbatim records should be kept. A summary record could be provided for the information of delegations.

The main purpose of this informal working committee would be threefold: first, to follow up as a matter of priority the common elements in the two plans, such as the seven points which



I mentioned earlier; second, to try to achieve reasonable compromises in remaining areas where clear differences between the two sides persist; and third, to make more precise the points under dispute in areas where differences between the two sides are yet ill defined.

### Lesson of Laos

In suggesting this procedure, my delegation has had in mind the experience of the conference here in Geneva on the future of Laos. Although there are continuing difficulties in the field in the unhappy country, the work of the conference here in Geneva has been successful. This has been due in large measure to the fact that an effective procedure was adopted, a procedure similar to the one I am now suggesting for the disarmament conference. At our meeting on Friday, the representative of India, Mr. Krishna Menon, also referred to the experience of the Laos conference -- of course, India, like Canada, is participating in that conference -- and he asked in this context that the committee meet informally so that the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union might provide clarification of respective ideas. We support this idea and agree with this proposal, but what we have in mind in addition is to use the proposed informal committee not only for the purpose of seeking information, but, more importantly, as a continuing forum for negotiation. By inviting the guidance of the co-chairmen, we recognize that the United States and the Soviet Union have by far the greatest responsibility in the field of disarmament. I do not suppose that either one of these great nations ever sought this position of prominence or leadership in the world, but they are both in that position and they are essentially the two which must agree. It is essential that they work closely together to reach an accommodation of views.

In conclusion, while the problems of disarmament are difficult, there is clearly evident in this committee a will to achieve results and, more important, a realization of the sobering responsibility we bear for the survival of civilization. The consequences of failure are too disastrous to contemplate. I am confident that we will justify the faith and the trust which mankind has placed in us. From all over the world today, the eyes and the thoughts of people are focused on this conference.

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 62/7

### THE UNITED NATIONS - AN OPPORTUNITY AND A CHALLENGE

An interview between the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard C. Green, and Mr. Delmar MacKenzie of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on January 25, 1962.

Mr. MacKenzie - Mr. Green, news reports have recently suggested that this is a more serious time for the United Nations than some of the difficult periods it has gone through in the past. I would like your assessment of the period that we are in now. Will the UN become stronger, or will it go the way of the League of Nations, as some have suggested?

Mr. Green - In my opinion the death of the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, last fall was by far the most serious problem of recent years. There are still extremely serious problems facing the United Nations, but that was a crisis that might very well have resulted in the break-up of the United Nations. However, a strange thing happened. Mr. Hammarskjold's death brought a very clear realization to all the delegates except those from the Communist countries (which have, you will remember, been attacking Mr. Hammarskjold for years) that the preservation of the United Nations was absolutely essential to their own survival and that it was the greatest asset that each of them had. They made up their minds that they were going to get through this crisis in one way or another, and, as you know, after a number of weeks unanimous agreement was reached on the appointment of a successor.

U Thant has been doing exceedingly well since he took that job.

I do not think there is any question of the United Nations going the way of the League of Nations.

Mr. MacKenzie - Do you believe that it has stronger roots than the League of Nations had? What safeguards does the United Nations have that were not there at the time of the League of Nations?



Mr. Green - I think the roots of the United Nations go very much deeper than those of the League of Nations. One reason, perhaps, is that the older nations have had the experience of the League of Nations and remember what went wrong with it. As a result of the Second World War, there has also developed a much greater determination to do something to stop these destructive wars. Today, the fact that a nuclear war means the end of civilization is recognized by all nations, and, in the light of this, the work of the United Nations has become vitally important; so I don't think there is any comparison between the United Nations and the League of Nations.

Mr. MacKenzie - One suggestion that has been made is that the United Nations Assembly is too large a body to make policy quickly - that the simple matter of getting through a debate on a subject, of getting through the preliminary statements, makes it difficult to get a quick decision when a quick decision is necessary. Do you know of any undertaking to change this so that the Assembly can be more effective in times of crisis?

Mr. Green - I think you must distinguish between the Security Council and the General Assembly. The General Assembly has, of course, 104 members and I don't think there should be any attempt to cut it down. As a matter of fact, there will be more members eventually. Some new ones are coming in this year, and the original plan was to have all nations represented. The Security Council, on the other hand, was supposed to be the executive of the United Nations. Five big nations are permanent members of the Council and each of them has a veto. Now, when the United Nations was set up, it was the belief that these five nations would be able to work together. They had, after all, been allies during the war and they had been successful. But almost from the start the Russians refused to co-operate. It has been difficult for the Security Council to function as it was intended to do because the Russians have had different ideas and have as you know used the veto about a hundred times. This, I think, is one of the drawbacks of the United Nations as it exists at the present, but it isn't easy to get round that difficulty.

Mr. MacKenzie - Would it require changes in the Charter? By what mechanism might this be done?

Mr. Green - The best way to change the situation would be to have a better spirit of co-operation. I think that, if the Communists decided to co-operate, then the whole organization would be able to function a good deal more efficiently than it does at the present. Even so, I am a great believer in the United Nations and I think that without it we would be in a terrible situation in the world today.





Mr. MacKenzie - Do you see any indication that the Soviet Union - that the Communist countries - have taken a more co-operative attitude towards the United Nations since the fifteenth Assembly, when all that trouble occurred?

Mr. Green - The co-operation last fall and so far during 1962 has been much closer than it was a year earlier. A number of steps have been taken by agreement, and tension has lessened a good deal since the problem of a replacement for Mr. Hammarskjold was worked out. You will recall that that was done by unanimous agreement, although the Russians had demanded that the Secretary-General's office should be filled by three men - one from the Communist world, one from the West, and one from the uncommitted countries - and that each should have a veto. However, they dropped the idea and agreed to the appointment of U Thant.

Mr. MacKenzie - A suggestion has since been made in the United States, and in Britain - and it may be that this has only been made in the press and not formally - that some kind of mechanism (not a three-part Secretary-General, but a representative group of advisers, or something of that sort) be set up under the Secretary-General. Has there been any movement toward this?

Mr. Green - U Thant has actually done that since he took over as Acting Secretary-General. He now has a larger advisory group around him than Mr. Hammarskjold has and they represent a much wider group of countries. That is in effect today.

Mr. MacKenzie - To return to the suggestion that this is a particularly critical time at the United Nations. This is partly based on the view of some of the European countries that the United Nations is just a "talk-shop" and partly on the concern, which Lord Home expressed, that the small powers may be voting in a different manner on issues where they are using force than on issues where a larger nation uses force. Do you see any attitude on the part of the small or middle powers that is likely to cause the big powers to rely less on the United Nations?

Mr. Green - I would hope not. In my experience at the United Nations, I have found that the representatives of all countries are a pretty good lot. Of course they are trying to put forward the views of their own people, but I don't think that any more criticism should be levelled at the small or middle members of the United Nations than at the large ones. One thing to remember is that all these delegates are human and that they make mistakes. Almost everyone has faced some criticism.



President de Gaulle has been very critical of the United Nations, and I don't agree with that. Lord Home was critical, but in the reports of his speech the emphasis was placed on the first half, which was the critical portion; the second half was played down and in the second half he praised the United Nations. I personally think Lord Home was too critical of the organization, but that's a matter of opinion.

Mr. MacKenzie - There is also a matter of economics. This seems to have become critical at the United Nations. What would be your view of the future financing of the United Nations?

Mr. Green - This financing of the United Nations is a very serious problem, and a great deal of trouble has been caused by the expense of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and particularly by the cost of the Congo operation. I think it costs about \$10 million a month. It is a very sad fact that some countries refuse to pay anything towards either of these operations. The Communist countries pay nothing toward the cost of the United Nations Emergency Force and they pay nothing toward the cost in the Congo. The French pay nothing for the Congo. The Belgians were paying nothing toward the Congo operation, but they changed their policy a few weeks ago. This defaulting has meant that other countries have had to pay more than their share. If every country paid its fair share for the cost of these operations, the United Nations would have no financial problems.

The finances of the United Nations had fallen so far behind that at the last session the General Assembly authorized a bond issue of \$200 million; it is hoped that the repayment of that bond issue will be made possible by all countries paying their regular assessments. In other words, the cost of redeeming the bond issue will be included in the regular assessment. The financing of the United Nations has certainly been a very difficult problem and its been of great concern to Canada. We have taken a very active part in trying to find a solution to the problem.

Mr. MacKenzie - What part of the bond issue is Canada buying?

Mr. Green - The bond issue is for \$200 million. Our commitment is for \$6.2 million

Mr. MacKenzie - I would like to pursue the question of Canada's vote in the United Nations. The suggestion was made some years ago - at the time of the previous United Nations intervention - that a permanent police force might be set up under the United Nations to which countries such as Canada could contribute. Has this idea been pursued or has there been a change in the original concept?





Mr. Green - There never was a desire at the United United - at least during Mr. Hammarskjold's term - to have a force of regular troops or what you might call a United Nations army. Mr. Hammarskjold felt it was better that nations should have forces which could be called upon in an emergency and the Canadian Government agrees with that. We have one regular battalion earmarked for service with the United Nations. As you know, we have a large number of troops in Palestine and in the Congo, partly because the middle powers are called on for police duty far more than any other group of nations. It isn't considered wise to ask the large powers to put troops into any of these areas because, if they started fighting amongst themselves, we might very well have a third world war. The very small nations are not in a position to supply troops, so the burden has fallen on countries like Canada. Mr. Hammarskjold used to tell me in New York that Canada could act as a fire brigade. I don't think any country has taken a larger part in the United Nations peace-keeping operations than Canada has done, and I don't think any country has a larger number of trained personnel for work of that kind.

Mr. MacKenzie - Do you expect Canada's role in the field of security - of peace-keeping operations - to expand?

Mr. Green - Yes, I do. I think there will be general expansion of the peace-keeping function by the United Nations, and I think that something on a bigger scale has to be worked out for peace-keeping operations. That is one of the subjects we are studying at the present time.

Mr. MacKenzie - Mr. Green, could I ask you, at this point, to outline anything else you might like to say about the United Nations and Canada's role in it?

Mr. Green - I believe there are several reasons why Canada has an important role to play at the United Nations. We have never been a colonial power (not that we are any better than the colonial countries - we have simply been so busy developing our own country that we have not had time to look at anyone else's). Since we are not a colonial power, we have an advantage in dealing with countries which have recently gained their freedom. Furthermore, we have a generally good reputation; we are considered to be idealistic in our approach to world affairs. Canada's support for the Colombo Plan and other aid programmes is an example of our idealism. Finally, Canada has a lot of friends. We have good friends in Africa and Latin America. I don't think any country has better relations with Latin American than we do, and we are also on very good terms with the new French-speaking states in Africa. They are intrigued by the fact that Canada is a bilingual country and it is much easier for us to establish good relations with them than



it is for most of the older countries in the United Nations. We are on very good terms with the Scandinavian countries. In New York they sometimes refer to the Scandi-Canadian axis, because we so often reach the same conclusions as our Scandinavian friends. We have many friends in Asia. Japan, for example, is one of our closest associates at the United Nations and there are others - Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, India, Pakistan and so on. Not less important, we have a very close connection with the United States. We have closer, more friendly relations with the United States than any other country in the world. I think even the Communist countries have respect for Canada. I don't know whether they like us, but I think they respect us; so we are able, at the United Nations, to take initiatives and to muster a good deal of support. We did that last fall with considerable success. The United Nations represents a great opportunity and a great challenge to a middle power such as Canada.

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CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 62/8

## THE MEANING OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Notes prepared for an Address by Prime Minister  
John G. Diefenbaker, to the Royal Commonwealth  
Society, Toronto, March 30, 1962.

I intend to speak tonight about the Commonwealth - but leave it to the constitutional scientists to define the Commonwealth. To me it is incapable of simple definition. I am more concerned with how the Commonwealth came to be what it is and what are the attributes which have given it in the past - and give it today - a continuing significance in world affairs.

To appreciate the complex balance of the present-day Commonwealth, it is necessary to begin by recalling the stages through which it has passed.

Opinions vary on its date of origin. Its roots stretch back into history. What can be said, however, is that its first stage of growth came to an end shortly after the Second World War.

What were the characteristics of that first stage? First, the original members were of British or, in some cases, of other European stock. They became the natural heirs of the British political legacy. Second, their loyalty and allegiance to the Crown were unquestioned and freely given. Third, free co-operation was their instrument. Free institutions were the life-blood of their partnership. When tyranny threatened, they were to be found in the vanguard of the ranks of freedom.

The founder nations did not join the Commonwealth. They were its inventors. They depended on it, not only as the sentimental expression of a family association, but also as the principal foundation of their roles on the international stage.

### An Era of Change

The Second World War and its aftermath brought revolutionary changes. New nations were rising to reach for the goal of independence in freedom. For the first time, peoples of races other than white, of creeds other than Christian, of stock other than European, were asserting their claims to enter into full and equal partnership.



There were difficulties to challenge the breadth of vision, the human tolerance, the material generosity and the inventive genius of the original members. Some said that racial differences would prove insurmountable. It was doubted that an acceptable formula could be found by which the different Commonwealth nations could be related to the Crown.

Others feared that the new Asian and African nations, with their history of occupation rather than colonization, would be carried away by the winds of freedom, unwilling or unable to remain in close partnership with the original members, and especially Britain. The attitude of the new nations to both Crown and Commonwealth was bound to differ from that of the members whom they came to join. The Commonwealth would never be the same again, for new strands had been woven into the fabric. Only time would tell what character the new pattern would show.

### Diversity in Uniformity

Somehow, though not without heart-searching, trial and error, and compromise, hesitations were overcome, difficulties surmounted, differences tolerated. The richness of diversity triumphed over the limited pattern of uniformity. India and Pakistan first broke through the barriers of uncertainty and accepted membership. India subsequently became the first republic within the Commonwealth.

Could there be a constructive role for a heterogeneous group of nations, of many races, of differing environments and stages of development and lacking those ties of blood and common outlook which had bound the original members? Every Commonwealth nation today is living the answer to these questions.

### A Third Stage

I believe that we have entered a third stage of development, its arrival accelerated by the twin pressures of nationalism and decolonization. Suddenly, in less than half a decade, the concept of the small circle, of restricted membership, has been transformed. In its place, we have accepted a new concept. All territories emerging to independent status along the constitutional path mapped out in co-operation with Britain can expect to be welcomed into full membership, provided they desire to be members and that they have, in the view of existing members, a sufficient capacity in the political and economic fields.

Furthermore - and this is now fundamental since March 1961 - they must accept the principle of non-discrimination in matters of race, creed and colour. There is no room for double standards if the Commonwealth is to be true to its purpose and destiny.

### Membership Roll

Most, but not all, of the nations reaching independence in co-operation with Britain have chosen to remain in the Commonwealth. Ireland and Burma, in widely differing circumstances, have chosen to go their separate ways. British Somaliland and the British trust territory of the Cameroons





decided to find their nationhood in company with neighbouring territories outside the Commonwealth. South Africa withdrew in 1961 in the face of a widespread and deeply felt aversion to its policy on the racial problem.

The roll of membership is lengthening. Five nations in 1947; today, after 15 years, the number is 13, with other nations approaching the time when decisions on membership will be made.

Such radical changes in the Commonwealth family have made the old intimacy and comradeship no longer automatic, and much harder to achieve. The free institutions of the old Commonwealth have not everywhere survived unimpaired. It has become more vital that there must be the fullest measure of consultation.

What have we got to put in the place of that which has been lost? How can we take the fullest advantage of the attributes which remain?

In international as in national affairs, the successful practice of politics must rest on realism. If the Commonwealth is to fulfil its potential for good, its limitations as well as the benefits it holds must be understood and respected.

#### Reasons for Joining

The reasons which have led new nations to seek membership in recent years, and which cause the older members to contribute to the continuing strength of the Commonwealth tie, are many. There are material benefits in the field of trade, economic and technical assistance, scientific co-operation, and other specialized fields. Trade has been an important and essential link in the bonds of the Commonwealth throughout its successive transformations. Commonwealth trade has brought benefits to all members. Commonwealth countries have had many different kinds of trade connections with one another.

In recent years, preferential treatment has been widespread among Commonwealth countries. While the Commonwealth must always show flexibility and adaptability to changing circumstances, it is of importance that the mutual benefits of this established trading association among Commonwealth countries shall not be lost.

Aid, as well as trade, must have a significant place in the modern Commonwealth. In the field of economic and technical assistance the newer, less-developed members have the most to gain at the present relative stages of development among Commonwealth countries. Wherever poverty and famine reign, the future of freedom is in jeopardy. Living standards must be raised.

As part of its aid programme, Canada's contribution to development assistance in the newer countries of the Commonwealth makes up the bulk of its \$50 million a year contribution to the Colombo Plan. Further substantial contributions in capital aid are made under our programmes of assistance to African Commonwealth countries and to The West Indies.



### Advantages of Aid Programme

We have much to gain from participation in this world-wide enterprise. Those who question the value of expenditure on external aid should not overlook the commercial dividends inherent in the creation of expanding markets. In material terms, aid today can mean increased trade tomorrow. Through generous co-operation we can help ourselves as well as others.

Educational exchanges illustrate the fact that the benefits of co-operation move in more than one direction. Under the Commonwealth Education Programme, which was initiated by the Canadian Government in 1958 at the Montreal Trade and Economic Conference, nearly 200 scholars from other lands in the Commonwealth are this year pursuing courses at Canadian universities. At the same time, 61 Canadian scholars have accepted awards to study in other Commonwealth countries under the plan.

There are in Canada at present a further 152 students and trainees from other Commonwealth countries under the education programme of the Colombo Plan and 69 under the Special Commonwealth African Aid Programme. Furthermore, 50 Canadian teachers, doctors, scientists, administrators, engineers and other experts are spread throughout the Commonwealth in the work of technical assistance, also under the Colombo Plan. An additional 40 Canadian advisers in various fields of activity are serving in Africa under the Special Commonwealth African Aid Programme, seven under a separate Canadian programme of assistance to that area, and six in other Commonwealth countries.

There is, as well, an even larger, but undetermined, number of students from all parts of the Commonwealth studying at Canadian universities under non-governmental auspices and a substantial number of Canadians in the same category studying in Commonwealth countries abroad.

The contribution to international and inter-racial understanding made by these exchanges cannot be measured in dollars or statistics. To continue in unity and strength, the Commonwealth must exemplify the best in those intangible human relationships that determine the motivations and the policies of nations.

The urge that impels every nation today to find its natural affiliations in the world is another cause for the attraction of new members to the Commonwealth.

### Commonwealth Flexibility

The Commonwealth is flexible. It does not prevent its members from forming other affiliations. Indeed, Commonwealth countries have developed their ties with non-Commonwealth nations. All members can and do enjoy the advantages of Commonwealth membership without foregoing affiliation with non-Commonwealth neighbours and allies.





Australia and New Zealand in ANZUS and SEATO, Canada and Britain in NATO, Canada with the United States in NORAD, Pakistan in the Central Treaty Organization, Malaya in its defence relation with Britain, Australia and New Zealand -- these are examples of commitments that extend beyond the Commonwealth yet do not impair the continued allegiance of individual Commonwealth members to our association.

It should be recognized that African members are concerned with African aspirations, and it is important that membership in the Commonwealth should not create conflicts of interest.

With respect to certain countries such as India, Ceylon and the African nations, another important factor has come into play. Their response to the threat of Communism contrasts with that of the older members, and indeed with that of Pakistan and Malaya. Non-alignment in the Cold War lies at the root of the foreign policies of a strong and significant grouping of Commonwealth member nations.

The Commonwealth association is large enough in spirit and purpose, and elastic enough, to provide a framework for the association of nations, regardless of how they react to the Communist threat. It is only realistic to accept the fact that these differences in outlook have placed, and continue to place, a limit on the area of common ground which exists between the foreign and defence policies of Commonwealth nations.

Nevertheless, one fundamental principle is held in common -- the determination to prevent war. It is significant that, at the last meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers, agreement was reached on a statement of principles on disarmament. This was a measure of the common ground on which all the Commonwealth countries stand. It was a measure too of their common yearning for peace among the nations of the world.

### Racial Challenge

Will the Commonwealth continue? In examining the continuing attributes of the Commonwealth the racial problem is a basic one. The Asian and African members have repeatedly underlined their view that the Commonwealth association cannot stand for less than full equality. Canada's position in support of that principle is clear and unequivocal. It is now a firm principle of the Commonwealth. Without it, the association in its present form is an impossibility.

In the efforts now being made to build inter-racial societies in African territories -- the Rhodesias, Kenya and Tanganyika -- the full observance of genuine equality for both the white and the non-white populations provides hope for the present and the future.

Racial equality is basic to the Commonwealth and must be maintained. In addition, there are other aspects of human rights for which the Commonwealth has traditionally stood -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from acts of an arbitrary executive power.



The Commonwealth must stand for freedom. It is essential that these objectives should continue as standards of behaviour for all Commonwealth countries.

I come now to the question of Commonwealth consultation -- the constant flow of information and discussion at different levels between the several governments of the Commonwealth.

At the centre of this process of consultation are the meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers. They bring the leaders together. There is no other meeting or conference in the world that provides for such frank and wide-ranging discussion both inside and outside the conference room.

Consideration has recently been given to the future organization of these meetings. It has been estimated that, within the next ten years, the total number of full members may rise as high as 24 nations. How will it be possible in an enlarged Commonwealth to conduct deliberations as frankly and profitably as heretofore? Should the meetings of prime ministers be limited in size, and if so, by what formula? Should these meetings take place -- not in rotation, but from time to time -- elsewhere than in London?

It is important to find acceptable solutions to these problems because, in the absence of effective consultation and understanding among leaders, the essential spirit of the Commonwealth will not be sustained.

Within the past year a new and potentially serious problem has arisen among those who have the future of the Commonwealth at heart. Britain has entered negotiations to determine the conditions on which it could become a full member of the European Common Market. On every side people are asking: how would such a move on Britain's part affect the Commonwealth?

The European Economic Community results from the efforts to create a closer economic and political union in Europe, culminating in the Treaty of Rome of 1957. This treaty in itself represents a major achievement of its six member nations - France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

#### EEC Institutions

- (1) Council of Ministers - The Council is to be composed of six representatives, one from each member state. It is to be the policy-making body of the Community, with power to make decisions and issue rules and regulations, for the most part on the recommendations of the Commission. Except as otherwise provided, decisions are taken by a simple majority. In the first stage of the transitional period, however, which was concluded on December 31, 1961, most Council decisions required a unanimous vote.





- (2) Commission - The Commission is to be composed of nine members appointed for their general competence and independence for a period of four years, with no more than two members having the nationality of the same state.

The Commission will be responsible for elaborating detailed policies implementing the Rome Treaty (e.g. the common agricultural and commercial policies) and for making recommendations to the Council; it will supervise the execution of the latter's decisions and also has authority to make certain decisions, generally of an administrative nature, within the framework established by the Rome Treaty. The Secretariat of the Commission in Brussels will, to all practical purposes, become the civil service of the Community.

- (3) Assembly - The Assembly is to be composed of 142 delegates from the Parliaments of member countries, but it is proposed that they should eventually be elected by direct universal suffrage.

The functions of the Assembly will be chiefly advisory. It can, by vote of censure concerning the activities of the Commission, force the collective resignation of the nine Commissioners. The Assembly is common to the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community.

- (4) Court of Justice - The Court of Justice is to be composed of seven judges appointed for a term of six years by the governments of the member states acting in common agreement.

The Court is to ensure the observance of law in the interpretation and application of the Rome Treaty. It will pass judgment on all alleged violations of the Treaty by a member state and review the lawfulness of the decisions of the Council and the Commission.

- (5) European Investment Bank - The Bank, with a capital of \$1 billion, will finance, without making a profit, by means of loans and guarantees:

- (a) projects for developing under-developed regions in the Common Market;
- (b) modernization or conversion projects made necessary by the progressive establishment of the Common Market;
- (c) projects of common interest to several member states.



The Treaty also has a provision of free movement of workers between all the nations by the end of the 12 years (transitional period) and by that time all restrictions for a person of one member state to establish in another state will be eliminated.

It is clear from this and the other provisions I have mentioned that, if the Treaty were carried into effect, the close economic ties envisaged would involve substantial derogations of sovereignty on the part of its various members.

One of the sources of strength peculiar to the Commonwealth is the degree to which it permits its members to make and adhere to allegiances beyond the Commonwealth.

Will this hold true if Britain in the sixties moves progressively into the European community sketched in the Treaty of Rome? How much of a strain will be placed on the Commonwealth association if the oldest and central member commits its primary allegiance to Europe and accepts the decisions of Europe's institutions of the future?

The answer to these questions are being pursued at this time together with the related problems which will arise for us in the field of trade if Britain joins the Common Market. We have made it clear that, while each member of the Commonwealth is naturally free to make its own decisions, the other members have the right to be consulted. That principle is accepted, and we have just completed a stage of consultation in an exchange of views in Ottawa with Britain's principal negotiator on Common Market problems, Mr. Heath.

We have also made clear our view - and this too is accepted - that, before any final decision is reached by the United Kingdom, there should be no commitment with regard to British entry until there has been a full opportunity for discussion at a meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers.

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CANADA

External Affairs

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF (EXTERNAL AFFAIRS)  
/ OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/9

### GENEVA DISARMAMENT TALKS

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Howard Green, in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, Geneva, July 24, 1962.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates:

It has been very pleasant to return to Geneva and meet the old friends taking part in this Conference and also, of course, to have a hand in the concluding acts of the Conference on Laos.

The agreement signed yesterday on the future of Laos has shown that initial suspicion and distrust need not be insuperable barriers - and I think that is the main trouble in the world today, too much suspicion and distrust. I repeat, suspicion and distrust need not be insuperable barriers if all concerned are prepared to work patiently towards agreement. Certain difficult political issues were faced in the Conference on Laos and acceptable solutions were worked out involving compromises by all. I suggest that the same determination to negotiate until agreement is reached should guide our further work at this Disarmament Conference.

We convened here last March, at the request of the United Nations General Assembly, with the specific task of working out an agreement on general and complete disarmament in accordance with a statement of principles which had been agreed between the United States of America and the Soviet Union but also had been accepted unanimously by the General Assembly. I draw your attention to the last of these principles, which reads as follows: "States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption -- this is the principle agreed to unanimously -- until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme".



This was decided at the last session of the General Assembly.

We are now only eight weeks away from the next session. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider seriously what this Conference should be doing in the coming weeks to fulfil the specific mandate which it has been given.

### Against Adjournment

I have been concerned about a growing tendency to accept with resignation a return to the General Assembly with virtually no progress to report and furthermore to adjourn this Conference while the General Assembly is in session. This must be resisted and with it the temptation to spend the intervening weeks in building up a case for blaming others for failure to achieve results here in Geneva.

Mr. Chairman, can we believe that any member of this Conference would be held free of responsibility by the United Nations if we recess for the purpose of wrangling in New York? The agreed principle which I have already quoted shows clearly that the United Nations expects efforts to reach agreement here to be continued without interruption. This Disarmament Conference has the specific injunction to persevere, which was not the case with its predecessors. When the Conference was set up, every member of the United Nations, of course, was aware of the difficulties we should face, but, for that very reason, the Conference was instructed to continue its efforts without interruption.

One gratifying characteristic of the discussions here has been the objectivity and the seriousness with which the negotiations have been conducted day by day. If we go to New York and indulge in recriminations and mutual accusations of bad faith, the good faith, the good atmosphere in this Conference would certainly suffer. In fact, I am afraid it would be at an end.

I recognize, of course, that the forthcoming General Assembly will wish to discuss disarmament and the progress that we have made so far. However, it does seem to me self-evident that all the United Nations can do, given its previous decision, is to say to this Conference: "Continue your efforts to carry out the task which you have been set". Obviously, Mr. Chairman, Geneva must continue to be the negotiating forum.

### Role of the Uncommitted

In this connection, let me emphasize once more the important role of the eight uncommitted countries. They were chosen from all parts of the world precisely to be representatives of the United Nations as a whole; here they have a vital and unique role to play in helping to bring about agreement. They have been constructive participants in all aspects of the negotiations and





their presence is one of the main assets of this Conference. I hope, and I am sure, that they will not lose heart but will continue the work they have been doing.

What we must consider is how the Conference can continue to work without interruption and avoid stalemate. I suggest that we concentrate in the next eight weeks on those areas in which progress can be registered so that we may have some concrete achievements to report to the General Assembly. This Conference must not simply mark time.

The course of events since we began our work last March has more than ever convinced me of the urgency of our task. The spiralling arms race, to which Mr. Menon has referred, which becomes more dangerous and more costly every day, makes the continuing efforts of this Conference imperative.

### Sheer Madness

At the top of the list of questions where agreement should be within reach is the cessation of nuclear tests. The announcement of the regrettable decision of the Soviet Government to resume tests points up that this is the most pressing issue which we have to resolve. The Canadian position has been and is that we are against all nuclear weapons tests. Mr. Chairman, all this testing is sheer madness - polluting the air human beings must breathe, endangering the lives of generations yet unborn, and possibly leading to the destruction of civilization.

The members of this Conference, and particularly the nuclear powers, have a responsibility before the world to make a further all-out effort to find a solution. The Canadian Government has been deeply disappointed by the lack of progress in the discussion thus far in the sub-committee on the cessation of nuclear-weapons tests. There is no doubt that the action which the nuclear powers take to deal with tests will be the criterion by which their intentions and their good faith will be judged in the whole field of disarmament.

The difficulty of finding a satisfactory verification system has been the main obstacle in the way of an effective test-ban agreement. A major contribution to overcoming this obstacle has been the compromise proposal tabled by the eight uncommitted members of this Conference.

It is, of course, encouraging that the nuclear powers have all indicated their acceptance of this neutral proposal as a basis for further negotiations.

But in my view, Mr. Chairman, the nuclear powers have not exploited sufficiently the possibility for progress which the eight-nation memorandum affords and have been engaged in a largely fruitless debate over how it is to be interpreted. The time is overdue to enter upon real negotiation based on this memorandum.





## Proposals for Compromise

There are three basic elements in the compromise suggested by the eight powers:

First, a detection system based on existing national networks, with new posts if necessary;

Second, the establishment of an international scientific commission to process the data yielded by these stations, and

Third, the obligation for states parties to the agreement to provide adequate assurances that a suspicious event on their territory is not in fact a nuclear explosion.

As far as we can see, the combination of an improved system of national detection stations, plus an international establishment to collect and analyse the data received from them, provides a satisfactory technical basis for an agreement acceptable to both sides. The crucial question which remains is how to deal with doubtful events that may be detected on the territory of one of the parties to the treaty. The United States representative made an important suggestion at the beginning of last week, when he proposed that the latest scientific data provided by recent research be thoroughly reviewed in this Committee and that in the detailed examination of this information qualified experts from all delegations should participate.

I believe that a discussion of this sort should be held and held just as soon as possible; it could lay the foundation for an agreement acceptable to all concerned. The conclusion of a treaty to halt tests for all time not only would be of immeasurable importance as a first step in halting the arms race, but would also create the right atmosphere for constructive progress in other areas of disarmament.

In the field of what are called collateral measures, I also believe there is now a prospect that this Conference can take steps forward in the weeks to come.

## To Halt Dissemination

I am happy that the Conference has now embarked on an active discussion in the Committee of the Whole of measures for the prohibition of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and the prevention of accidental war.

In approaching the problem of preventing the wider spread of nuclear weapons, we can draw encouragement from the fact that through their support for the Irish resolution, which, as you all know, was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly last year, all governments represented at this table are already on record as favouring the adoption of effective measures in this field. Every day increases the likelihood that nuclear weapons will eventually





come into the possession of a wider circle of countries. This is surely an outcome which all countries, whether or not they possess nuclear weapons themselves, deeply desire to avoid. While we may not see eye-to-eye on the exact nature of the arrangements that should be concluded, we all possess a common interest and recognize a common goal.

In the opinion of my Delegation, the approach which offers the best prospect for agreement is to base the work of this Committee on the recommendations set forth in the Irish resolution. It should be possible to negotiate, within a relatively short period, an effective and lasting ordinance which would ensure no further expansion of the nuclear club. My Government holds firmly to this objective and the Canadian Delegation will exert every effort to facilitate its realization.

### Accidental War Hazard

The other item which is under discussion in the Committee of the Whole (namely measures to prevent the risk of accidental war) also deals with an urgent problem on which we could reasonably plan to report some agreed measures to the coming General Assembly. The risk of accidental war cannot fail to grow more serious as weapons of ever greater power and complexity are developed. The United States has made several specific proposals designed to deal with this problem and the U.S.S.R., when this Conference resumed, submitted suggestions which in many respects are very similar. We welcome the recognition by the U.S.S.R. that it would be desirable to adopt measures in this field. Like other members who have spoken on this subject, I hope that it will be possible to work out agreed arrangements of this type which could take effect as initial measures without awaiting the completion of our negotiations on the whole programme of general disarmament.

The Canadian Delegation is gratified that both sides recognize the value to be derived from such confidence-building measures as the advance notification of military movements, the exchange of military missions and the improvement of direct communications between heads of state and with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Let us now get down to a thorough discussion of these questions and work out practical arrangements that could diminish mutual suspicion and reduce the possibility of a calamity both sides wish to avoid. I am convinced that early agreement in this area is feasible and would provide a striking demonstration that our Conference is making a serious attempt to resolve problems which are of deep concern to people everywhere in the world.

I would also recall that I suggested here last March that outer space be considered by the Committee of the Whole as a collateral measure. However, the co-chairmen have not yet agreed to place this item on the agenda for consideration by the Committee of the Whole. I hope that in the near future the question of banning weapons of mass destruction in outer space will receive the detailed examination it warrants.





## General Disarmament

I turn now to the task of reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament; in my view, a special effort is needed in the following main areas of the two plans before the Conference:

- (1) conventional armaments and armed forces;
- (2) chemical and biological weapons;
- (3) fissile materials and nuclear weapons;
- (4) nuclear weapons carriers.

Although serious differences have emerged with regard to some of these questions, on others there are elements common to the proposals of the United States and those of the Soviet Union which I believe can be built up into significant agreement. I deal first with those items where the chances of early agreement are the greatest.

The proposals of the two major powers on conventional disarmament lead to the same goal - the elimination of all arms and of all forces except those needed for the maintenance of internal security and international peace. The differences separating them have now been reduced by the Soviet acceptance of the idea of percentage reductions in this field. We consider that percentage reduction is the most logical and equitable method of achieving the goal and we are glad that the U.S.S.R. has accepted the principle. We hope it will come to recognize the virtue of extending this principle to the elimination of other means of waging war.

## Conventional Arms Agreement

The United States and the U.S.S.R. now agree that conventional armaments will be reduced by a total of 65 per cent in the first two stages of disarmament. With regard to armed forces, there is a continuing difference over levels which should apply at the end of stage one. However, there is virtual agreement on a level of about one million men at the end of Stage II.

Here is a large and important area where the two sides are now very close together. This is an extremely significant development, for it means that agreement on the whole question of conventional disarmament has come within the reach of the Conference. Surely, Mr. Chairman, further negotiations can remove remaining points of difference. The co-chairmen, I suggest, should as soon as possible work out agreed articles.

Taken together, the other three points I have mentioned comprise the whole field of mass destruction weapons, namely chemical and biological weapons, nuclear weapons, and the means for their delivery. How to deal with these weapons is the most crucial issue in the whole disarmament problem. Where do the two major powers stand in this?





First of all, both countries have in the past endorsed the idea of joint technical studies in the field of chemical and biological weapons. During the first round of the negotiations, the United States Delegation offered to bring such studies forward from the first stage of disarmament to the present negotiating period prior to the signature of a treaty. We have not had a reaction to this suggestion from the Soviet Delegation, but, from their proposals of September 23, 1960, we assume that they are not opposed to the idea of a study in this area. Furthermore, we have evidence of numerous statements that the Soviet Union is anxious to make an early start in dealing with weapons of mass destruction in general. The Conference should therefore agree now on an immediate study of this question. We must stop the arms race in this area - chemical and biological warfare - which could only add new horrors to those we already know. We have enough horrors at the present time without adding these additional ones.

#### Problem of Method and Degree

Second, there is the elimination of nuclear weapons and fissile material. Under the United States plan, the production of fissile material for weapons purposes would be stopped in the first stage, and transfers from past production to non-weapons purposes would begin. This process would be carried forward during the second stage until nuclear weapons, and fissile material for use in their fabrication, would have been reduced to so-called "minimum levels". While containing no provisions on this in Stage I, the Soviet plan calls for all such weapons and their components to be destroyed in Stage II. What then is the difference between the two sides? One calls for complete reduction and the other for reduction to "minimum levels" by the end of Stage II. Surely these statements show that the main problem is one of method and degree - how precisely to bring about these reductions, and when. In our opinion, agreement on these questions can be reached by a more intensive effort.

Third, there is the question of eliminating nuclear weapons-carriers; the issues involved here are among the most central to the negotiations and there are considerable differences between the two great powers. Both plans call for the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons vehicles. If the differences were only of staging and timing, there would indeed be ample room for negotiations and compromise as to what might constitute a mutually acceptable, balanced and verifiable reduction. But while, under the United States outline, the powers move towards the total elimination of nuclear-weapons carriers by a 30 per cent reduction in the first stage and by a balanced elimination of the remainder in Stages II and III, the Soviet Union claims that complete abolition could be achieved in the first stage. The discussions in this Conference have shown that a 100 percent reduction in the first stage would be incompatible with the principle of balance to which Mr. Menon referred this morning and would raise grave verification problems. I am convinced that opportunity for genuine negotiations will exist only if neither side holds to totally uncompromising positions.



Mr. Chairman, I began by saying that this Conference must demonstrate to the United Nations General Assembly that we have done what is humanly possible to fulfil the high responsibilities which they have given us. In our task we have become the servants of the entire world. Humanity will be our judge and, if we fail, it will judge us harshly. We must never forget that while we negotiate the entire world looks on, watching our performance. There is an urgency about our work which grows day by day, as the arms race spirals on. The worst judgment which history could make would be that we failed because we did not try hard enough.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion my principal purpose in addressing this Conference is to lay this point squarely before you: this is the time and this is the place for action on disarmament; if we cannot make progress in this Committee, which is ideally constituted for the purpose, then what real possibility remains for coping with this most vital problem facing mankind?

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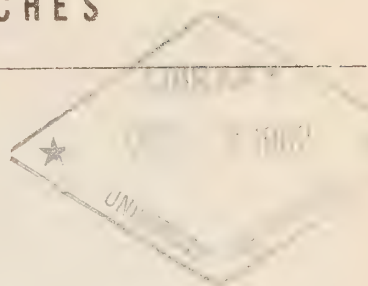






# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)



No. 62/11

## THE EEC, THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE WORLD

Notes for a statement delivered by Prime Minister Diefenbaker at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in London, on September 17, 1962.

I should like to summarize briefly the Canadian position after consideration in the light of the statements made in the main sessions last week and also in the light of the committee meetings. In doing so, I think it is no longer necessary to sketch in the background considerations which we have all been over with some care.

We wish to emphasize first of all that the decision regarding the entry into EEC is one for Britain and Britain alone, after the consultation which this meeting has made possible and such further consultation as may be desired.

The Canadian Government is not taking a position on whether or not the U.K. should enter the Common Market because we respect the right of Britain to take this decision herself. We have been invited to tell the British Government of our assessment of the effects of such a decision upon Canadian interests and we have done so. There are many other considerations involved in this decision which only the British Government and the British Parliament can take properly into account.

You have asked for our appraisal of the effects upon our trade of Britain's entry into the Common Market on the basis of the terms so far negotiated at Brussels. We have given this. It is on record both in the statement I made on Tuesday last and in the record of the Committee concerned with temperate foodstuffs and other matters of particular interest to Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

### Safeguarding Commonwealth Interests

Our assessment is that, in the further negotiations planned to take place in Brussels in contemplation of entry by Britain into the Community, substantial further improvement will be needed in the terms of entry in the light of the undertakings that have been given regarding the safeguarding of Commonwealth



interests. In several fields, notably the tariffs to apply on raw materials and on processed foods and other products, little has yet been agreed on with The Six and there seems clear scope for negotiations more favourable to Commonwealth interests than those that have taken place. In the field of temperate agriculture, we think, as Mr. Green has stated in the Committee, that improvements are necessary in the paper to be agreed on between Britain and the Community. In regard to the treatment of our manufactured products on which provisional agreement has been reached, we would also hope and expect that some improvement could be achieved. We have made some suggestions to these ends, but we feel those actually engaged in the negotiations can best judge how the improvements can be obtained.

The clearly-expressed views of the Commonwealth should assist in securing this alleviation, including some of the terms already provisionally agreed on as well as matters still open. I would hope, too, that the notable progress made in the American Congress with the trade-expansion bill will contribute to the same end.

Canada will be glad to consult with the U.K. during such further negotiations as may be undertaken. We have sent experts to Brussels for this purpose and we are ready to make such further arrangements as may be desirable to ensure that this consultation is fully effective.

If it is the general desire, Canada is quite prepared to participate in a further Prime Ministers' Meeting to review the results of these final negotiations, but will co-operate in any other method of assessing the results, in so far as our views may be desired by the U.K. in reaching their decision.

It is now apparent that there is an almost unanimous desire among the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for something which will give greater assurance of expanding trade than the results to date of negotiations at Brussels now provide.

The Government of Canada has been giving careful consideration to what should be done to meet these new challenges which face Commonwealth and other countries. Solutions should be sought which would help all Commonwealth countries obtain their economic objectives, and at the same time avoid disruption of our established and fundamental economic and political relationships. Basically this programme would be applicable whether or not Britain decided to join the EEC.

#### The American Response

President Kennedy has placed before Congress a programme for expanding world trade. I believe, representing as we do members of the Commonwealth and a large proportion of the world's population, we should endeavour, in a spirit of co-operation, to





give world leadership in a concerted effort to meet the difficult and diverse trade problems of Commonwealth countries.

I propose, therefore, that this Conference should declare its intention to extend an invitation to all member nations of the Commonwealth, of the EEC, the EFTA, the U.S.A. and Japan and other like-minded nations indicating a desire to participate, to meet at the earliest practicable date to give consideration to how to deal with the trading problems before us in a way which will be to the mutual advantage to all. This should prepare the way for the prospective non-discriminatory tariff negotiations on a most-favoured-nation basis.

The European Community is already a reality. There has been no question here about the desirability of that Community, as it now exists, carrying forward its objectives. However, it does seem that, if we are to achieve still wider and more satisfactory trading arrangements before 1970, steps in the direction of further world-wide trading arrangements should now be taken.

I believe that this would offer a practical contribution to the solution of our difficulties which will advance the strength of Commonwealth association, will permit the Common Market to proceed with the expansion of its own activities, and will bring to bear the immense trading capacity of the U.S.A. and Japan.

If this plan is accepted, Canada would be most willing and honoured to be host country.

#### Not Tariff Problem Only

Reciprocal reduction of tariffs should not be the only matter for consideration by such a meeting. Our discussions here have again shown the urgent need to find solutions to the special difficulties in world trade in agricultural products. Work in the tariff field would need to be co-ordinated with what might be done through other means; for example through world-wide commodity agreements, both in the field of temperate foodstuffs and where particular problems arise with respect to basic materials. Other matters requiring attention would be trade in tropical products and trade of the developing countries generally.

It will be most essential for the Commonwealth to take a lead in bringing about the solution of the many problems which arise. It will be necessary to ensure that the diverse trade interests of all Commonwealth countries, large and small, are fully taken into account in coming to this end. Working together in this wider framework should provide an important new focus for Commonwealth co-operation.



# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
(OTTAWA - CANADA)

No. 62/12

## A STEADY HAND ON THE UN TILLER

Statement by Mr. Howard Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, in the General Debate at the Seventeenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 25, 1962.

Mr. President,

It gives me great pleasure to join with others in offering you congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualifications and wide experience in diplomacy, international law and in United Nations affairs will, I know, prove to be of great value at this important session.

Your appointment is a well-deserved tribute to you and also to your country - Pakistan. Last week, the people of Canada were delighted to receive the President of Pakistan as a distinguished and highly respected visitor. His visit served to re-emphasize the excellent relations which Pakistan and Canada have always enjoyed.

I also wish to extend a very warm welcome to the four new members who were admitted to the United Nations last week. In Rwanda and Burundi the United Nations played an important role in bringing about the transition from trusteeship to independence. Canada had the honour of serving on one of the United Nations Commissions during the preparatory period. Aided by a common bond of language, we now look forward to developing with these two countries the same close relationship which links Canada with the other French-speaking countries of Africa.

The achievement of independence by Jamaica and by Trinidad and Tobago is an event of special significance and of interest for Canada not only because of our Commonwealth association but also because of the historic ties which have existed for centuries between Canadians and the people of the West Indies. I am confident that these good neighbours of ours -- the first new members, incidentally, from the Western Hemisphere -- have a valuable contribution to make to the United Nations.





Last year when I spoke in the general debate, the United Nations was facing many grave issues, some of which actually threatened its survival. The atmosphere in the Assembly, as those representatives present today who were here a year ago will remember, was one of tension and anxiety. The whole future was uncertain -- the future of this organization and the future of the world. May I suggest that the events of the past 12 months have not dispelled all the difficulties; but neither have they fulfilled the pessimistic prophecies of a year ago. We are living in a world when it pays to be optimistic. I do not believe that the pessimists will ever settle the problems that face the world and I believe that clearly, in this session of the General Assembly, we have a good deal more reason for hope than a year ago.

### Laos

Here I should like to point out that there have been some gains in the complex international endeavour to strengthen the peace. For example, at the beginning of 1962, the situation in Laos seemed far from settled. By July, international agreements providing for a unified, independent and neutral Laos had been signed in Geneva by the 14 nations attending that conference. Those nations included governments which did not recognize each other but which shared a common determination to face reality and find a solution. The result was a positive step toward peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Canada was one of the signatories of the Laos Agreements and, as a member of the International Commission, Canada was charged, along with India as chairman and Poland, with the task of seeing that the agreements are carried out. We intend to fulfil these responsibilities with fairness and diligence. I emphasize, however, that ultimate success in Laos will depend on the continuing support and co-operation of all the governments concerned. I think we can make Laos an example for the settlement of problems in other parts of the world.

A significant factor in the successful negotiations on Laos was the businesslike procedure evolved. In particular, the device of co-chairmanship proved its worth and the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union deserve much of the credit for the result. I pay tribute to them today for their work as co-chairmen of that conference.

### Disarmament

There is, furthermore, another area in which there has been some progress. After a year of inactivity, steps forward were also taken in the field of disarmament. The United States and the Soviet Union reached accord on a Joint Statement of Agreed Principles and laid it before the General Assembly on September 20, 1961. This was followed by another advance -- which I think should be considered a major advance -- the establishment of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee which began its deliberations in March of this year in Geneva.



This Committee has two important advantages over previous disarmament forums. First, following the precedent of the Laos Conference, it has the United States and the Soviet Union as permanent co-chairmen and they meet together frequently to arrange agenda and try to resolve differences. I do not suppose that ever before have Americans and Russians spoken together on so many occasions and for such a long time as these co-chairmen have been doing in Geneva. And, of course, these great powers are the key to the whole problem of disarmament. If there is to be a settlement it must be reached primarily by these two nations. Secondly, the Committee has as members eight non-aligned nations - Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic. By their impartial and constructive approach to the intricate problems of disarmament, these eight nations have helped to advance the work of the conference. In the opinion of the Canadian Delegation, these eight nations have made a magnificent contribution at that conference.

For the first time since nations began to debate this all-important question of disarmament, the two major powers have put forward comprehensive treaty proposals. The Committee has been examining these proposals for the past five months. One thing shown conclusively is that the dangers caused by the vast array of modern armaments cannot be removed at one stroke or by adopting some simple formula. To reach agreement on general and complete disarmament requires the greatest effort and the most painstaking negotiation.

The fundamental problem, of course, is the distrust and suspicion which have sharply and tragically divided the world since the end of the Second World War. Negotiating governments must make greater efforts to overcome this distrust and suspicion.

The Committee in Geneva should play its part in this transformation. The Canadian delegation at Geneva has repeatedly emphasized that there are common elements in existing proposals which can be developed into significant measures of disarmament. What is required is a renewed endeavour to achieve acceptable compromises.

### Soviet Draft Treaty

Canada welcomes the announced intention of the Soviet Union to modify its proposals for eliminating nuclear weapons vehicles. In our view, this may help to remove the block to negotiations in Geneva which was created by the incompatible positions of the two sides on this particular question. Of course, we must reserve our final opinion on this modified Soviet position until we see the detailed amendments to the Soviet draft treaty; and, in addition, agreement on this key disarmament question will inevitably require careful examination in Geneva of all the related factors.





Early in the Geneva conference, a committee of the whole was set up to deal with measures which could be put into effect quickly and would help to relieve international tension and create mutual confidence pending agreement on general and complete disarmament.

Among the subjects this Committee has before it are: First, measures to prevent further dissemination of nuclear weapons; second, the reduction of the possibility of war by accident, miscalculation or failure of communications. In order to stop the arms race spreading to outer space, Canada has proposed in this Committee that immediate action should be taken to prevent the placing of weapons of mass destruction in orbit. We urge that, when the Disarmament Committee resumes its work, redoubled efforts be made to reach agreement on the important questions which are before this collateral measures committee.

### Force of World Opinion

This Assembly should bring to bear the full force of world opinion to ensure more rapid progress on disarmament. To achieve this we must, first of all here in New York, avoid propaganda exchanges on the question of disarmament. The whole issue could become a propaganda battle here in this Assembly, and this would be a tragedy. We must also assess the possibilities for compromise on important points which are still in dispute. Finally, we must recommend as forcefully as possible - I would hope recommend with one voice - that the Disarmament Committee in Geneva renew its efforts at the earliest possible moment.

The Commonwealth prime ministers meeting in London a few days ago recorded their unanimous conviction in this sense. That statement by the Commonwealth conference was very significant, because the 15 nations there represented all the continents of the world. I quote from the communiqué:

"The Prime Ministers agreed that the need for disarmament had been intensified by the steady development of ever more powerful weapons. They re-affirmed the principles laid down in their statement on disarmament on March 17, 1961, and expressed their conviction that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva should continue its efforts towards a treaty for general and complete disarmament in accordance with these principles. They noted that discussions on the cessation of nuclear-weapons tests had also been taking place in Geneva and expressed the hope that these efforts would be successful in bringing into being an effective treaty to eradicate this source of fear and danger to mankind."



The 18-Nation Committee is responsible for detailed negotiations and only through its continued efforts in Geneva can progress toward disarmament be realized. That is why we must, as the distinguished representative of Norway stated here a few days ago, "...give encouragement and guidance to the negotiating nations in Geneva". I point out that all members of the United Nations have a fundamental obligation to assist in every way in ensuring that agreement on this vital subject is reached without delay. The world simply cannot afford the risk of failure.

### Nuclear Tests

In the disarmament talks at Geneva and in this General Assembly, it has been made very clear that the problem of nuclear-weapon tests is of the gravest concern to all members of the United Nations. My Government maintains its firm opposition to all nuclear-weapon testing, for two reasons.

First, we are convinced that continued testing poses an ever-increasing danger to human health. Of this I shall say more presently. Second, the ultimate security of mankind is weakened, not strengthened, by further testing. No matter what considerations may lead the major powers to undertake nuclear tests, their effect can only be to accelerate and to make even more perilous the race in nuclear armaments. The powers concerned must not ignore the fact that the arms race itself gives rise to fears which in turn become a factor in intensifying competition in armaments.

I believe that these fundamental points are not in dispute. But the tests have still not been stopped. The proposals submitted by the eight uncommitted countries at Geneva, and the new technical data advanced recently by the United States and the United Kingdom, have opened new opportunities for agreement.

The Canadian Government strongly supports the proposal, originally made by the Mexican delegate to the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee, that a target date, January 1, 1963 (and I wish it could have been earlier), should be set for the cessation of all tests. This date has been accepted in principle by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

As a minimum first step, agreement could be reached immediately on the final cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. To have a comprehensive treaty, of course, underground tests must be included. The question barring agreement on such a treaty is whether the parties shall be obligated to permit inspections on their territories when other means of determining whether there has been an underground nuclear explosion fail to give a definite answer. This is a difficult problem, involving dangers to the security of the nations concerned, but the dangers which result from the lack of solution are immeasurably greater.





If the great powers cannot reach agreement on this issue, prospects for general and complete disarmament will be dim indeed. They can and must resolve their differences in this field if they are to fulfil their obligation to mankind. The General Assembly should clearly express itself in this sense.

### Radiation

I revert now to the hazards to human health created by nuclear testing. The second comprehensive report to the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation brings out the danger very clearly in the following statement (and I quote from this scientific report):

"As there are no effective measures to prevent the occurrence of harmful effects of global radioactive contamination from nuclear explosions, the achievement of a final cessation of nuclear tests would benefit present and future generations of mankind."

That is the objective language of a scientific report tabled just a few months ago. The dangers involved are immediate. They affect us now and, what is even more important, they will affect future generations.

In order to assess these dangers properly, the Assembly must continue to insist on a co-operative world-wide study. Last year's resolution on the subject reaffirmed the desirability of continuing full international co-operation through the Scientific Committee. The latest report of the Committee constitutes an authoritative and up-to-date assessment of the exposure of mankind to radiation and of its harmful effects.

In the resolution of last year, the General Assembly called for a study of a world-wide synoptic reporting scheme of atmospheric radiation levels. I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made by the World Meteorological Organization in preparing such a scheme. It is our hope that its implementation on a world-wide basis will soon be initiated.

### Problem of Want

Now I come to another question. Disarmament deserves high priority in our deliberations because it seeks to remove the means of waging war. The Acting Secretary-General has emphasized in his Annual Report the need to eradicate the basic causes of war -- poverty, famine and disease. The economic and the social work of the United Nations goes along so quietly that it does not always receive the public attention it deserves. And yet success in raising living standards in the less-developed areas and in expanding and stabilizing world trade may, in the long run, determine the question of war and peace.



The role of the United Nations in providing an effective framework for economic and social development is well established. There will, I am sure, be no disagreement over the importance of the various assistance programmes. These essential activities must be adequately supported. In the "Decade of Development", we should strive to make increasingly effective use of existing institutions. For its part, the Canadian Government will continue to support these United Nations efforts and at the same time to maintain our bilateral aid programmes.

The promotion of sound trading conditions is at least as important as the provision of aid. In fact, the recent Commonwealth Conference considered that question, and they had this to say: "...Improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial aid". That was the unanimous opinion of all the countries represented.

Canada has sought, in the United Nations and outside, to promote international arrangements and institutions (for example, the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade) which would encourage the expansion of trade on a multilateral and non-discriminatory basis. This will be our attitude in examining the Economic and Social Council's recommendation for a Conference on Trade and Development in 1964.

Such a conference will provide one opportunity for a discussion on strengthening the world trading system. While some problems can be dealt with only in a world-wide forum, other aspects of trade can be examined usefully by countries whose trading systems - and hence trading problems - are most alike. For example, at the recent Commonwealth meeting Canada proposed an early conference of a group of countries to discuss their common trading problems. Such a conference would, in fact, help to prepare the way for wider, non-discriminatory tariff negotiations on a most-favoured-nation basis.

#### Commonwealth and New Nations

I should like to say a few words now about the Commonwealth and emerging nations. In London we welcomed four countries that had joined this family of free and independent nations within the last year - Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. This brought the number of nations participating fully in the Commonwealth Conference to a total of 15. All but four - those four are the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Canada - have become independent since the Second World War and in each case they have chosen, of their own free will, to become members of the Commonwealth. In addition, there were representatives present from other territories such as Uganda, Kenya and British Guiana, which will shortly obtain independence and will in all probability choose to join the Commonwealth and, of course, the United Nations. I believe Uganda will be gaining independence in a matter of weeks.





The Commonwealth of today is an inspiring example of friendly association of nations of diverse races, cultures, creeds and political institutions. Its members may be divided in their approach to some questions, but they are solidly united in their dedication to the cause of peace and to the promotion of better understanding.

Great credit for this outstanding achievement in international co-operation and for the successful launching of these new nations must be given to the United Kingdom. All other nations of the Commonwealth - including Canada, although it is a long time ago in our case - were at one time colonies, and in their progress to nationhood the United Kingdom has given generously and wisely of its aid and guidance.

### Unfair Accusations

This being the case, I find it very hard to understand the bitter and sometimes unfair attacks which, from time to time, are made against the United Kingdom on the subject of colonialism. We all know that there are difficulties to be overcome in some territories, but surely the United Kingdom's record of past accomplishment in this field justifies confidence in its intention to guide these peoples to independence.

Unhappily, from this very rostrum and in debates in many other United Nations bodies, the Soviet Union has painted quite another picture of these colonial developments. Soviet spokesmen have chosen to disregard peaceful evolution in the Commonwealth, where freedom and independence have become a living reality for 600 million people since the Second World War.

Canada's own part in developing the Commonwealth prompts us to reject the Soviet Union's criticisms and its claim to be the champion of freedom and independence for subject peoples. Sometimes I marvel at the nerve of the Soviet Union representatives in making this claim.

We urge that the United Nations should view the Soviet attack in proper perspective. In 1960, the Prime Minister of Canada reminded the General Assembly about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire. Many millions there cannot today exercise the right of self-determination which the Soviet Government demands for others.

The denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms casts grave doubts on the Soviet Union's whole position on colonialism. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, it should not ignore the areas under Soviet rule. The Charter principles on human rights and self-determination are clearly intended to be universal in their application.



## Peace-keeping Operations

I have been dealing with some of the main issues before this Assembly. I turn now to a set of problems which vitally affect the future of this organization.

Of fundamental importance are the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, in the Congo and now in West New Guinea. Canada contributes men and resources to all these operations and regards this contribution as a prime responsibility of membership.

In the Congo, the United Nations has assumed its heaviest responsibility. The Secretary-General's programme for national reconciliation there has been favourably received by the parties principally concerned and Canada is encouraged to hope that this plan will go forward smoothly. The elements of success in this difficult situation are a willingness on the part of the Congolese themselves to resolve their difficulties and a readiness on the part of all other states to support the programme.

In this connection, the Commonwealth prime ministers had this to say (and I think it is important coming from that conference): "They took note, in particular, of the proposals relating to the Congo which were recently put forward by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, and they expressed the hope that these would prove to be the basis for a speedy and constructive settlement."

The task which the United Nations undertook in the Congo was one which it simply could not shirk. Members of this Assembly need hardly be reminded, however, that one consequence has been a financial crisis verging on bankruptcy. Canada has supported ad hoc measures for meeting immediate financial needs, but we have also consistently sought to place the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations on a solid foundation. We have urged that the basis should be collective responsibility.

For this reason, the Canadian Government welcomed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on July 20, which confirmed that the costs incurred for the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo Force were "expenses of the organization" within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter. This authoritative opinion should be endorsed by the General Assembly and should form the basis for financing peace-keeping operations. After all, advisory opinions of the Court ought to be fully respected in the interests of establishing international rules of order.

Basing ourselves on the principle of collective responsibility, we must find a formula for apportioning peace-keeping costs, because this organization has to be in a position to fulfil its Charter purposes.





## Stability in the UN

It is equally clear that the chief executive of this organization should have whole-hearted support in the discharge of his responsibilities. Our distinguished Acting Secretary-General has shown great courage, great patience and great wisdom during the course of his interim term of office - which, remember, began at a time when confusion reigned in United Nations affairs. During the past year he has given leadership which has restored confidence in the organization.

The underlying need in United Nations affairs is for stability. In these turbulent times, governments require a steady base for international co-operation and for quiet diplomacy. Most people of the world look hopefully to the United Nations to point the way and provide the means to these ends.

A significant element in achieving stability and a capacity to act effectively is to develop orderly procedures. Our distinguished Past President has made some interesting and useful suggestions for improving Assembly procedures. I welcome the decision to inscribe an item on this subject, and I hope some solution will be worked out.

The greatly increased membership of the Assembly and the length of recent sessions give added urgency to the need for the most efficient working methods. The speed and the efficiency with which we carry out our work is an important factor in determining the degree of public support for the United Nations.

In conclusion may I express my firm conviction that the United Nations has emerged from the uncertainty which clouded the sixteenth session. Confidence and stability are being restored. The atmosphere in the present Assembly is favourable for constructive work.

We now have an opportunity to respond to the improved situation by dealing firmly with the main issues before us. We must take encouragement from the recent progress, however gradual, toward peace. We must maintain a steady United Nations course in that direction, conscious of the undercurrents of danger in our troubled world but confident that we can control them.

We live in an age in which there have been several very important developments. First, there has been the greatest spread of self-government in the history of mankind. Second, there has been the greatest interest in helping developing nations. Most of that interest is idealistic and unselfish. I admit that there is some selfishness in it, but primarily it is idealistic and unselfish. Third, there is the greatest friendliness and understanding among peoples. What a great thing it is for a foreign minister to come here and be able to talk to 30 or 40 other foreign ministers, as well as distinguished representatives of other grades. Never has there been such an understanding of



problems and views of other nations. Fourth, we live in an age in which there has been the most widespread desire for peace of all time. Each of these four developments has been brought about largely by the work of the United Nations -- by the work of this organization. If we keep this fact in mind and retain our optimism and our hope, this session will be the best in the history of the United Nations.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/13

## THE WORLD'S MOST FATEFUL PROBLEM

Statement by General E.L.M. Burns, Canadian  
Delegate, First Committee of the United Nations,  
October 11, 1962.

Mr. Chairman,

In the opinion of the Canadian Delegation, there is nothing before this Assembly which is more urgent or fateful than the question of how to put a final stop to the testing of nuclear weapons. This is an object for whose achievement all members of the organization should stand united, for all of us will suffer if these experiments continue. The United Nations General Assembly cannot legislate an end to nuclear tests, but it can and should use the immense moral force of its decisions to press for a speedy solution of the problem.

Mr. Chairman, my Government remains unequivocally opposed to all nuclear-weapons tests. That virtually all delegations also oppose them has been made clear by the statements which we have listened to in the general debate in plenary. This can be taken as proof that nuclear testing is opposed by the vast majority of men and women all over the world.

### The Canadian Objections

Canada is opposed to further testing for two good reasons. In his statement in the general debate, the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasized that, first of all, we are gravely concerned by the dangers to human health which result from nuclear testing. In our view, which we believe is supported by scientific findings, the bodily health of everyone is endangered by exposure to additional radiation. But, what is more disquieting, increased radioactivity resulting from nuclear tests can have incalculable effects on future generations. This generation would, therefore, perpetrate a grave moral wrong on posterity by continuing nuclear testing.

It may be said that, from the humane and moral standpoint, these arguments are sound, but that, if considerations of defence and national security require them, nuclear-weapons tests must go on, notwithstanding their undesirable effects. But does



continued testing improve the security of any nation? In the short term, it may be claimed that nuclear testing is required in order to effect or restore a balance in weapon power. But is there any reason to think that national security can be maintained over the years in this way? In my view, there is not. A protracted competition in this sphere -- between super-powers already armed to a degree hardly imaginable -- can only increase international tensions, and the ultimate danger of nuclear war. The major nuclear powers are themselves in agreement that continued testing increases the pace of the armaments race. In a joint statement released last August 27 by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the U.S.A., we read the following sentences: "The U.S.A. and the U.K. cannot emphasize too strongly the urgency we attach to the problem of ending all nuclear testing once and for all. For the safety and security of all of us this deadly competition must be halted and we again urge the Soviet Government to join with us in meaningful action to make this necessity a reality".

### The Soviet Position

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has been equally firm in spelling out the grave consequences of continued testing. In a letter addressed by him to Prime Minister Macmillan in April of this year, he wrote as follows: "Throughout the world the peoples are justly expressing their indignation not only because nuclear tests lead to the fouling of the atmosphere and may in some degree have a harmful effect on peoples' health and their moral and physical condition, but also -- and this is the most important point -- because the race to build up nuclear weapons will be accelerated even more by the new series of experimental nuclear explosions".

Clearly, then, dangers of further experimentation in this field are admitted. It may have grave effects both on our own health and on future generations; it is ultimately a threat to the security of mankind; it increases international tensions and reduces the possibility of agreements in other fields. If this is the belief of the leading statesmen of the nuclear powers, why can they not stop the tests? But it is not only the responsibility of the nuclear powers; nuclear testing affects all nations; to deal with it is the responsibility of all of us represented here. Can we not, as rational beings, act in our own interest?

### Advantages of a Ban

The advantages of a test-cessation agreement are many. Such an agreement would not give a special advantage to this or that country or alliance, but would be in the interest of all humanity. Let me summarize the truly impressive gains which a nuclear-test ban agreement would achieve.

First, as the major powers themselves recognize, it would significantly reduce radiation hazards and improve international security.





Second, it would inhibit the development of more and more destructive nuclear weapons.

Third, it would arrest the development of nuclear weapons by an increasing number of nations, a danger whose gravity can be recognized by all and, one may say, especially by the present nuclear powers.

Fourth, it would be a start on disarmament. My Delegation entirely endorses the view expressed by the Acting Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, in which he emphasized that the first step toward disarmament is to stop nuclear testing. We share his sincere hope "that the nuclear powers will realize that the whole world is hoping and praying that an agreed first step may be taken soon".

In short, an agreement to end nuclear-weapons tests would be a first clear proof that the many declarations by the great powers that they want to end the arms race are not mere words, but will result in real and effective action.

#### Devising Means

I have reviewed so far the weighty reasons in favour of putting a stop to nuclear tests. In my opinion these factors, taken together, should convince every rational man that the need for a solution is urgent. It remains, however, to devise practical means for achieving this goal. In recent months several suggestions have been made which, my Delegation believes, should be endorsed by this Assembly.

In the first place, we strongly support the proposal put forward in the 18-Nation Committee for an early cut-off date by which all testing would be ended - January 1, 1963, or, we would hope, earlier. The acceptance by this Assembly of a target date should provide added incentive to speedily resolve the remaining differences.

Second, Canada endorses the proposal for an immediate ban on all testing in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water. Such a proposal is common to the draft treaties advanced by both sides, and an agreement would be a substantial step in the direction of a comprehensive ban. It would greatly reduce or even remove the health hazard resulting from nuclear testing. Moreover, differences over inspection do not constitute a barrier to agreement in this field.

Third, my Delegation wishes to underline the importance we attach to the contribution of the eight unaligned nations represented at the Geneva negotiations in putting forward compromise proposals on a verification system. The Canadian Delegation has taken the stand at the 18-Nation Conference -- and we reaffirm it now -- that the eight-nation proposals provide a sound basis for an agreement satisfactory to all concerned. A system based on existing national networks of observation posts with new posts if necessary, an international scientific commission



to process and examine data from these nations, and the obligation of states parties to the agreement to furnish the facts necessary to establish the nature of any suspicious event on their territory -- these are the main elements of the eight-nation proposal which we believe should be incorporated, without further delay, in a draft treaty for ending all nuclear tests.

### A Fundamental Principle Involved

Agreement on these points would narrow the differences separating the two sides to one major question: What is to be done if there is a dispute as to the nature of an event which has taken place in the territory of one of the parties to the agreement? It appears from new scientific data submitted last August at Geneva by the U.S.A. and Great Britain that the area of uncertainty where doubtful events could arise has been considerably reduced. Nevertheless, controversy persists over the question of how to verify that no underground testing takes place. Technical problems which have been raised in the examination of this subject could not usefully be discussed in this Committee. However, there is a fundamental matter of principle which my Delegation is firmly convinced must be borne in mind by the nuclear powers in their negotiations in this field.

It is agreed, I think, that no foreseeable inspection system will fully meet the preoccupations of all parties to a test-ban agreement. What is needed then is a reasonable assurance that their interests will be protected. But this criterion cannot be applied exclusively to the risks which may be inherent in the treaty itself; it is equally important not to lose sight of the grave risks which humanity continues to run in the absence of such an agreement.

It has been alleged, for example, that a verification system involving "on-site" inspection could mean that espionage data would be collected by the inspectors. In my opinion, the possibility that the international inspectorate could be used in this way is exceedingly remote. I cannot believe that the Soviet Union would seriously contend that this risk compares in any way with the dangers which they themselves agree are inherent in continued testing.

### Balancing Two Risks

It is also argued that the risk of a state evading its obligations under a nuclear-tests agreement must be reduced to a minimum. My Delegation fully recognizes the importance of this requirement, since a treaty which would not give assurances that states were living up to their commitments would be cause for continuing concern and tension rather than diminishing these factors as an effective agreement is intended to do. But the risk of evasion should also be balanced against the dangers mankind must live with in the absence of an agreement. If it is feared





that states might sign an agreement and later conduct secret tests, the nuclear powers must not only ask themselves whether this risk is acceptable in principle. They must also assess with equal care whether the military significance of such evasions would be greater or less than the dangers to health and security resulting from continued testing and an accelerated arms race.

This balance of risks and advantages has to be kept in mind in order that the negotiating parties may assess the real significance of possible espionage or evasions. As long as the negotiators concentrate their attention on the disadvantages to their security which might result from a particular system of inspection, it is doubtful whether any real progress is possible. But when these disadvantages are seen in their proper perspective, against the graver prospects of continued testing, the necessary conditions will exist to bring an effective test ban to reality. If the negotiating parties can readjust their thinking in this way, new compromises, acceptable to both sides, could be achieved without delay.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me review briefly the main considerations which will guide my Delegation in dealing with the questions to be decided under the present item: First, we wish to see a halt -- by January 1, 1963 or earlier -- to all nuclear-weapons tests; second, as a means of achieving this end, we support the proposal for an immediate test ban in the atmosphere, outer space and under water; third, we desire an effective international agreement which will provide assurances that no further tests are carried out and that all states live up to their obligations under the treaty. We are convinced that these objectives demand urgent attention, and we sincerely hope that this Committee will act quickly and forcefully to assist in their realization. I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, that the Canadian Delegation will give its full support and active co-operation in the endeavour.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 62/14

## WESTERN COLONIALISM AND SOVIET IMPERIALISM

Statement by Mr. Heath Macquarrie, Canadian  
Delegate to the Seventeenth Session of the  
United Nations General Assembly, on November 23

Mr. President:

Last year, when Resolution 1654 (XVI) was adopted, the Canadian Delegation recognized that it was logical and sensible to create machinery for the purpose of examining the application of the 1960 Colonial Declaration and making suggestions and recommendations on the progress achieved in implementing the Declaration.

That Declaration is rightly regarded as an historic document. It expresses in the clearest terms the very strong desire of this Assembly to hasten in every way it can the movement to independence which has been one of the most exciting and important features of the times in which we live.

My Delegation sees no need to feel dissatisfied with the steady progress which has been made in the past two years towards its implementation. Seventeen new members joined the United Nations in September and October 1960, at the beginning of the fifteenth session. Because of their pride in their independence and their desire that the movement should not lose its momentum, these new members played a most decisive part in bringing about the adoption of the Colonial Declaration by an overwhelming majority of the fifteenth Assembly on December 14, 1960. Since that date, the United Nations has welcomed ten more newly-independent member countries. Several more are on the verge of independence.

Canada voted for the resolution setting up the Committee of Seventeen, on the understanding that the function of the Committee was to scrutinize the progress made in applying the principles of the Colonial Declaration, to offer suggestions on the practical steps that should be taken in particular territories, and to report back to the General Assembly at the present session.

### Canadian Views on Colonialism

As has been made clear on other occasions, the Canadian attitude to the problem of ending colonialism is based on a number of considerations:





First and foremost is Canada's concern that fundamental human rights and freedoms should be fully respected throughout the world, including the national right of self-determination and the freedom of the individual from discrimination on grounds of race, colour, creed or political belief.

Second, Canada wishes to do all it can to promote the evolution from colonial rule to full self-government and independence for all dependent peoples who desire that status, at a rate of development governed only by practical considerations of internal stability. Canadians believe firmly in the policy of "the good start" - the erection of a visible economy with a solid base of trained administrators.

Third, it is the opinion of the Canadian Government that the Declaration on Colonialism is intended to apply throughout the world.

Fourth, each remaining colonial territory has its own special problems and its own conditions. The United Nations approach should, therefore, be pragmatic. Different methods must be applied to fit the circumstances of each case.

Fifth, the administering authorities cannot share or shift their responsibilities for dependent peoples under their control. If the United Nations is to contribute to orderly evolution, it must take account of these responsibilities, as well as of the aspirations of the inhabitants of the colonial territory concerned.

The Special Committee has pursued its difficult task with vigour and determination. My Delegation is particularly happy to pay tribute to the ability and wisdom of the Committee's Chairman, Ambassador Jha of India, whom we have recently welcomed as his country's representative in Canada.

The Committee has done a great deal of useful work in its investigation of the issues involved in the areas which it has studied. The scope of the report shows the magnitude of the problems still unresolved. The experience of the Committee clearly demonstrates that progress in this most important and complicated field can best be achieved in a spirit of accommodation among all parties concerned. Whenever it has been possible to reach a consensus, the Committee's proposals have pointed the way to practical progress.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Delegation has used the Special Committee's deliberations as an opportunity to put forward extreme proposals on colonial territories, which were known to be unacceptable to the administering power, rather than to find practical solutions to existing problems. Mr. President, the subject with which the Committee is concerned, the achievement of self-government by dependent peoples, is too important to be used as a device for scoring meaningless victories in Committee debates, or for the passing of resolutions which have little or no prospect of being carried out.



### Limits of Committee Mandate

The Committee on occasion adopted resolutions addressed directly to the administering power. This, in our view, goes beyond the mandate of the Committee, and is a most undesirable development, having regard for the authority and prestige of the General Assembly. The Committee should confine itself to reporting to the General Assembly. If it believes that the situation in a particular territory demands urgent consideration by the Assembly, it is at liberty to say so; the Assembly can then take action, if it sees fit, under the procedure for holding emergency or special sessions. In any case, the responsibility for making direct recommendations to the administering powers should remain with the General Assembly.

Having made these comments, I should like to emphasize my Delegation's opinion that the fundamental idea which led to the creation of the Committee of Seventeen is a sound one, namely that there should be some body, responsible to the Assembly, which has the duty of weighing and evaluating the progress achieved in carrying out the Colonial Declaration of December 14, 1960. The only alternative, and one which we consider impractical save in special circumstances, would be the creation of a number of subsidiary bodies, each with a limited and particular mandate. This would raise serious problems of co-ordination. There would also be a real danger that the proliferation of special colonial committees, with widely-varying compositions, could lead to uneven reports and be wasteful of both effort and funds. The latter would be particularly objectionable at a time when the United Nations is trying to economize its resources of manpower and money.

My Delegation does not wish to comment at this time on the individual recommendations made by the Committee of Seventeen. Some, such as those on Northern Rhodesia and British Guiana, have been overtaken by events. The General Assembly has considered and acted upon the conclusions and recommendations regarding Southern Rhodesia. As for South West Africa, this question has already been examined by the Fourth Committee.

### Value of Consensus Procedure

The result of the South West Africa debate which has just concluded in the Fourth Committee is proof of the essential unity which can be realized, even on a difficult colonial issue, when a serious and patient effort is made to take account of various points of view and thus to maximize the area of agreement. For similar reasons, we continue to believe that the consensus procedure is the method of work best suited to the Special Committee. It allows full play to all members, enables the majority view to be clearly and forcefully expressed, and avoids the need for formal votes, which would often divide the Committee.

In pursuing its work in the immediate future, the Special Committee will continue to devote most of its attention to the problems of applying the Colonial Declaration in African territories. We recognize the validity of the Committee's decision to give priority to the remaining areas of colonial rule in Africa. That continent is the location of some of the most complicated problems which yet remain to be solved.





The Special Committee recognizes, in Paragraph 151 of its report, "that it has by no means completed the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly and that there are many more territories concerning which the implementation of the Declaration remains to be considered". This conclusion is fully sustained by actual situations which exist in many parts of the world but which are not confined to any one geographic area. Understandably, in recent years there has been emphasis on Asia and Africa because, in those continents, the stirring march to nationhood has surged forward at a quickening pace. It is the very fact of great progress in these areas which has stimulated and concentrated international interest in developments there.

### Universal Application

But this Assembly has recognized and the Special Committee of Seventeen must be aware that, like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and like the Charter of this organization, the Declaration on Colonialism was intended to be universal in its application. The appropriate Assembly resolutions on this subject offer no exemption and admit of no exceptions. The rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration extend to subject peoples everywhere.

This, in the Canadian view, should be the basic approach of the United Nations to the implementation of all declarations and resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with fundamental rights and freedoms. It is their universal application without distinction that we should keep in mind. And, having regard to its established methods and priorities, the Assembly should act to ensure that degree of application.

In our approach to colonialism, all of us here should recall that the historic factors which contributed to the establishment of Belgian, British, Dutch, French and German imperial systems in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led, at the same time, to the establishment of a Russian empire under which long-established cultures and whole nations were subjected to foreign domination. In the course of that development, colonialism spread from Europe, not only across the oceans but also over wide stretches of land.

Moreover, in modern times, we have witnessed a second surge of Russian imperialism. Free countries, established by virtue of the right of self-determination which was promoted at the end of the First World War, have been swallowed up by the Communist empire.

But this is not merely a matter of history, obscured by the passing of time. It is an essential part of the problem which we are discussing today and which we have discussed in this Assembly on many earlier occasions and under various items. It is the problem of the universal application of rights and freedoms proclaimed under the general authority of our Charter.

In the pursuit of these great Charter principles and purposes, this organization has been instrumental in bringing freedom and independence to many nations. The record since 1939 shows that 44 nations, with



a total population of over 840 million people, have attained independence. Their distinguished representatives today play an important part in our deliberations.

### Contemporary Soviet Imperialism

But what about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire? Assessments may vary, but there are about 96 million people under Soviet rule who have never been permitted to exercise the right of self-determination which the U.S.S.R. so loudly proclaims for others. It is a unique and disturbing phenomenon at this time in world affairs, when one of the highest aspirations of mankind is the peaceful and orderly evolution to viable freedom for all dependent people, that the U.S.S.R. should continue to deny the rights of free election and expression to subject nations under its domination.

It is all the more disturbing because the actual developments within the Soviet empire are so completely out of tune with the protestations of Soviet propaganda. Directly following the Soviet revolution, much was made of Communist belief in the right of self-determination. During the early Twenties, independent states did spring into being in the land mass now dominated by Russian Communists. The nationhood of separate peoples in that broad area was, however, quickly extinguished as soon as the Communist Party leaders in Moscow realized that these states were intent on protecting from Kremlin interference their political freedom and their cultural and linguistic heritage.

With callous disregard for earlier recognition of the independence of those states and with no thought for the treaties of friendship and non-interference legally binding between them and the U.S.S.R., the Red Army was deployed to subjugate many small but proud nations. And so it has been that, even in the period of progress elsewhere (that is, since 1939), the U.S.S.R. has incorporated over 260,000 square miles of additional territory with a population of 22 million people. Employing tactics devised in the earlier revolutionary period, with some refinements of more recent times, the Soviet empire in the last 23 years has absorbed the Baltic States, the Kurile Islands, South Sakhalin, Tannu Tuva (formerly a part of Mongolia), certain Finnish provinces, certain Polish provinces, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina (formerly belonging to Roumania), East Prussia and Ruthenia (formerly a part of Czechoslovakia and predominantly Ukrainian in speech and culture).

### Suppression of Political Nationalism

Moreover, this spread of Soviet domination has always been accompanied by a systematic suppression of political nationalism in the subject areas and by the subversion of long-cherished cultures, languages and religions. And when resistance proved stubborn, the U.S.S.R. used deportation as a method of consolidating its rule. No less than seven minority nations were deported from their native regions, and it was not until 1957 that any pretense was made to restore to some of them even a token of their deprived rights.





This is but a small part of the Soviet record of tyranny. And it is a sorry record for a nation holding great-power status in this organization. It lays bare the reasons why the U.S.S.R. and its supporters spend so much time in United Nations debates criticizing and condemning the actions of others.

It explains why the Soviet representatives on the Special Committee of Seventeen have engaged in tactics which could have no purpose but to disrupt the work of the Committee. Clearly, Soviet representatives were seeking to cover, with a smokescreen of violent attack against the Western powers, the ugly realities which exist within the sphere of Soviet imperialism. To divert attention from its own evil practices, the U.S.S.R. has long preached against the sins of others.

In keeping with its own tradition and outlook, Canada has warmly welcomed the steady development toward independence during the last two decades. We have sought to promote that development by exerting our influence in the direction of accommodation and orderly progress. We have been glad to assist the new nations to find a firm footing in economic and social stability.

#### Western and Soviet Records

Therefore, we cannot but deplore that the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which has marked this period of United Nations achievement, has not spread to the areas under Soviet domination. The contrast between the record of the Western powers and that of the U.S.S.R. is clear for all to see. And the discrepancy between Soviet protestation and Soviet performance is no secret. We need look no farther East than the Berlin wall to see the determination with which the U.S.S.R. seeks to isolate oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain from the contagion of freedom.

The views which I have been expressing reflect no new departure on Canada's part. Speaking in the General Debate of this Assembly in September 1960, the Prime Minister of Canada sharply contrasted the record of the Western European powers with that of the U.S.S.R. Mr. Diefenbaker had the opportunity then to call on Chairman Khrushchov to make good his many professions of concern for the rights of dependent peoples by granting to the nations under his domination the right to choose their own leaders and form of government through free and secret elections. At that time, the Canadian Prime Minister said (and I quote):

"Indeed, in this Assembly the membership is composed in a very considerable measure of the graduates of empires, mandates and trusteeships of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and other nations.

"I pause to ask this question: how many human beings have been liberated by the U.S.S.R.? Do we forget how one of the postwar colonies of the Soviet Union sought to liberate itself four years ago, and with what results?



"I say that because these facts of history in the Commonwealth and other countries invite comparison with the domination over peoples and territories, sometimes gained under the guise of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of political freedom. How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 with Chairman Khrushchov's confident assertion of 23 September in this Assembly? Mr. Khrushchov said:

'We have stood, we stand, and always will stand, for the right of the peoples of Africa, just as those of other continents, to establish whatever regime they may please in their countries on attaining their freedom from colonial oppression'.

That I accept--and I hope that these words mean a change of attitude for the future on the part of those he represents.

"What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them? Mr. Khrushchov went further and said, in the same meeting:

'... Complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations is demonstrated by the entire course of the history of the world in recent decades'.

There can be no double standard in international affairs.

"I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections--to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. If these conclusions were what his words meant, for they must apply universally, then indeed will there be new action to carry out the obligations of the United Nations Charter; then indeed will there be new hope for all mankind".

I need hardly add that the U.S.S.R. did not respond to this invitation. No evidence has come to the United Nations to suggest an easing of the intolerable situation in the Soviet empire.

### Spotlight on Soviet Empire

Consistent with the position outlined by the Prime Minister, the Canadian Government has continued to urge that the focus of United Nations attention be brought to bear on conditions within the Soviet empire, and more particularly on the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These conditions should be placed in the context of all Assembly discussions about these rights and freedoms and about the status of dependent people everywhere. Our aim is to provide perspective for the strident demands which the U.S.S.R. makes on behalf of others for rights and benefits denied to subject people of the Soviet empire.





Mr. President, there can be no dispute that the Declaration on Colonialism is intended to apply throughout the world. There can be no denying that its implementation is far from complete. It is abundantly evident that the Special Committee of Seventeen has much useful work to perform in future. If I have stressed, in this statement, the problem of Soviet imperialism, I have done so because, in the opinion of my Government, not enough United Nations attention has been paid to that problem in the past. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, why should it not turn its attention at some stage to the areas of darkness under Soviet rule? This Assembly has no cause to be selective in its denunciation of oppression.

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CANADA

## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

DEC 13 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 62/15

### GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Statement to the First Committee of the  
United Nations General Assembly on  
November 9, 1962, by Lieutenant-General  
E.L.M. Burns, the Canadian Representative

The most important and urgent task which faces the international community today, as all speakers so far, I think, have agreed, is to reach agreement on disarmament. To put it in stark terms, if civilization is to survive, the nations of the world must disarm.

Recent events show how real and how imminent is the possibility of nuclear war. As the Prime Minister of Canada said on 5 November:

"To all who know how close we were to war and what war today would mean, it is evident that the nuclear arms race must be halted. The logic of the aftermath is grim but clear and permits of no other conclusion than that if the nations of the world do not take effective steps the next crisis may not permit the world to stop short of the abyss of war".

So the crisis which the world has just faced must give a new and a strong impetus towards general and complete disarmament and other measures which will reduce international tensions and sources of conflict.

President Kennedy wrote to Chairman Khrushchov on 28 October:

"I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament as it relates to the whole world and also to critical areas. Perhaps now as we step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field ... We should work hard to see if wide measures of disarmament can be agreed to and put into operation at an early date".

And Chairman Khrushchov, in his letter to President Kennedy of 28 October, emphasized the wish of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to eliminate the tense international atmosphere and to continue efforts to achieve progress on complete and general disarmament and other matters leading to the relaxation of international tensions.





We think that everyone recognizes that to advance towards general and complete disarmament and to get agreement on measures preliminary to disarmament which could reduce tension and the danger of nuclear war will require intense effort and the most painstaking negotiations. Canada maintains the view that the best place for detailed and comprehensive negotiations on a disarmament programme is the conference of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

#### Role of Non-Aligned

The 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament, endorsed by Resolution 1722 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, is, in our view, well suited to the tasks. The conference has several advantages as a negotiating forum. I refer, as so many others have done, to the role of the eight non-aligned countries: Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic. The representative of the United Arab Republic, in his statement in this Committee on 5 November (and we are very much in agreement with what he said) has shown that many changes in both plans were made in response to questions and suggestions of the non-aligned members of the Committee. The presence of these countries in the 18-Nation Committee has made it representative of all major geographical areas of the world. Their active participation in the conference is a constant reminder that disarmament is not the concern of the great powers alone, but of all countries, large and small.

The conference of the 18-Nation Committee has also developed procedures and working methods which are appropriate to its task. It has as its permanent co-chairmen representatives of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who have actively co-operated in organizing and forwarding the work of the conference. The conference moved from a rather formal examination of treaty texts in its earlier stages to one of detailed exploration of some of the most difficult problems in the disarmament field. The Canadian Delegation is confident that the 18-Nation Committee, with its improving techniques for comprehensive discussion and negotiations, can, when it returns to its task, succeed not only in bringing the sides closer together but also in achieving a programme for total disarmament.

#### Collateral Measures Committee

I should like to discuss another important aspect of the 18-Nation Committee -- the work of the Committee of the Whole, sometimes called the Collateral Measures Committee. This Committee, which was set up to deal with measures which are closely related to disarmament and which could come into effect quickly, could help to relieve international tensions and thereby facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament. The Collateral Measures Committee has two questions on its agenda for immediate consideration: first, measures to prevent the further dissemination of nuclear weapons, and second, reduction of the possibility of war by accident, miscalculation or failure of communications. The recent world crisis has shown us very clearly how vital it is to achieve progress in these two fields.



The first measure on which the Collateral Measures Committee of the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament should negotiate is, in the view of the Canadian Delegation, to prevent the wider spread of nuclear weapons. Our Delegation would like to associate itself with the eloquent appeal of the representative of Ireland that the nuclear powers take immediate steps to deal with this urgent problem.

A second measure is to put into effect arrangements to reduce the risk of war by accident. The risk of a nuclear holocaust resulting from accident or miscalculation seems far greater than the risk that any nation would deliberately begin a nuclear war.

A third measure which should be given early consideration concerns the prevention of the stationing of weapons of mass destruction in outer space. The Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada proposed in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee that a declaration prohibiting such action should be adopted as a matter of priority. International agreement to this effect would be of great value in reducing the fear that the arms race might be extended to this environment. It would also be a first step toward a rule of law in outer space. Moreover, in our view, its adoption would implement and reinforce the two measures I have just mentioned. We welcome the statement by President Kennedy in his letter of 28 October to Chairman Khrushchov that "questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons on earth and in outer space" should be given priority consideration along with related problems.

#### Nuclear-Free Zones

Another vital question which should be discussed in the Collateral Measures Committee is the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The importance of this question has been brought to the attention of this Committee by the draft resolution, sponsored by Bolivia, Brazil and Chile, to create a nuclear-free zone in Latin America. The Canadian Delegation believes that the creation of such a zone is primarily a matter for the countries in the region concerned to decide for themselves. But the form of such agreements and, what is very important, the means for verifying that their provisions are being observed could appropriately be considered in the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee as a measure collateral to disarmament.

If we are to profit from the lessons of the Cuban crisis, it is of the highest importance that the 18-Nation Committee resume its work at once and that every effort be made to achieve agreement immediately on the important questions to which I have just referred. The statements of President Kennedy, Chairman Khrushchov and Prime Minister Macmillan, about which I spoke earlier, give new grounds for hope that agreements can be reached in these vital areas.





Taken together, agreements preventing the dissemination of nuclear weapons and the placing of weapons of mass destruction in outer space and measures adopted to avoid the outbreak of war by accident would constitute a significant advance toward a safer and more stable world. International tensions would be immediately reduced, international security would at once be increased, and a notable step forward would be taken towards agreement on general and complete disarmament.

Finally, I should like to discuss briefly some of the questions concerning general and complete disarmament which the 18-Nation Committee had been considering before it recessed. Disarmament questions before the conference fall within three general categories: first, questions on which differences preventing final agreement are relatively small; second, areas in which significant differences still exist between the positions of the two sides; and third, questions which have not as yet been comprehensively explored in the Disarmament Committee.

#### Conventional Arms and Forces

Under the first heading, the differences in the positions of the two sides concerning conventional armaments and armed forces have been greatly lessened as a result of changes introduced in both plans during the course of negotiations in Geneva. The Canadian Delegation believes that agreement on the question of conventional disarmament has now come within reach. There are also good prospects of overcoming the remaining differences in a closely-related field -- there is a remaining difference regarding the level of armed forces at the end of the first stage, but there is already virtual agreement concerning the level of armed forces at the end of the second stage. In the field of conventional armaments and armed forces, the Canadian Delegation feels that it will also be important for the Disarmament Committee to study the obligations of smaller countries with regard to the levels of conventional armaments and armed forces which they may be permitted to retain during the second and third stages.

In the second category (that is, questions on which there are still substantial differences between the positions of the two sides) one of the key areas where these fairly large differences still exist is that of the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear-weapons vehicles. The representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom have pointed out what these differences are, and the First Committee has been able to judge for itself that there is still a great deal to do before agreement on this point can be achieved. Although this question was explored during the last round of discussions in the Disarmament Committee, further consideration is of course necessary in order to develop a basis for agreement. In the plenary meeting on 25 September of the United Nations General Assembly, the Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada welcomed the decision of the Soviet Union to modify its proposals for eliminating nuclear-weapons vehicles. The Soviet Union's new proposals introduce a change in principle which may possibly be far reaching, although a detailed examination in the Disarmament Committee will be necessary in order to determine the full



significance and effect of the proposals. The Canadian Delegation must reserve its final views until more is known about what is involved, but we consider that the Soviet Union's proposals may help to remove the block to negotiations which had been created by the opposed positions of the two sides on this question.

### Peaceful Settlement Procedures

With regard to the third category (questions not yet sufficiently explored) the 18-Nation Committee can, for example, make a valuable contribution in the field of peace keeping. Both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have in their draft treaties recognized the importance of improving the means of keeping the peace, and both draft treaties contain provisions in regard to it.

The joint statement of agreed principles stipulates that disarmament must be accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and by effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

For all the reasons which I have given, the Canadian Delegation considers it to be of the highest importance for the 18-Nation Committee to resume its work at once and to make the greatest possible effort to achieve progress in the tasks before it.

The very thorough and well-thought-out statements which were made by many members of this Committee on the item whose consideration has just been concluded -- the item on nuclear testing -- have, we think, made it quite clear that the achievement of an end to nuclear testing by means of a well-guaranteed agreement which is satisfactory to all the nuclear powers and which will be observed by them is the first task to be accomplished in the field of disarmament; it is the most important task, for without its accomplishment, we cannot expect any real progress towards general disarmament. We think, therefore, as I have just stated, that it is of the highest importance that the 18-Nation Committee should return to its work in a suitable forum, where it can proceed with dispatch to concentrate on this subject and to reach agreement, as called for in the resolution adopted a few days ago by the General Assembly. We think that the progress which has been achieved in that matter has been largely due to the presence and efforts of the eight non-aligned countries which are participating in the work of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee.

That is why we lay stress on the Committee of the Whole of the 18-Nation Committee. In the same manner as it achieved the progress which has been reached up to the present, we hope that it will be possible by the date set down in this resolution, which we have passed with a large majority, to report back substantial progress by 10 December. We think it is essential that we lose no time in reassembling and commencing our work.





My Delegation, for these reasons, supports the statement of the representative of the United Arab Republic and of many other delegations which would welcome any initiative that would take note of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee reports, urge that disarmament negotiations be expeditiously continued in a spirit of compromise, and request that a progress report be submitted to the United Nations General Assembly within a reasonable period of time. Canada hopes that the General Assembly will with one voice support a resolution to this effect.

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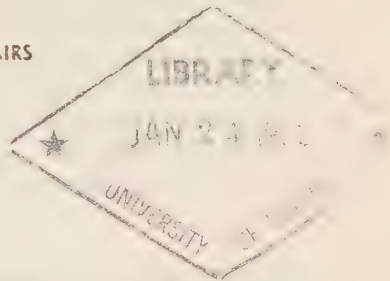




CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 62/16

## THE OECD TAKES STOCK, 1962

Statement to the House of Commons on  
December 3, 1962, by Mr. Donald M. Fleming,  
Minister of Justice.

... As Hon. Members are aware, the second annual meeting of ministers of the 20 member countries of the OECD was held in Paris on November 27 and 28. I now wish to report to the House concerning the results of this very successful and interesting meeting. The agenda for the meeting contained items relating to the three main aims of the Organization, namely the achievement of maximum economic growth and employment with due regard to financial stability, the promotion of economic expansion in the less-developed countries, and the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis.

In an exchange of views concerning economic policy, ministers reviewed the current situation in member countries and the progress made in the past year toward the collective growth target defined in November, 1961. Hon. Members will recall that on that occasion the OECD ministers agreed to set as a collective target the attainment during the decade 1960 to 1970 of a growth of 50 per cent in real gross national product of the 20 member countries in aggregate.

In examining the economic outlook at the present time, the Council noted that in the United States there is unemployed labour and unutilized capacity and a clear need for action to stimulate demand. European production continues to grow, although at a less rapid rate than before. It is intended to keep the situation under review, and ministers agreed that, should any measures be required to stimulate expansion in member countries, it would be important to act quickly and in concert. A significant conclusion of the discussion was that the competitive positions of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States have improved. This is expected to contribute to a better balance in international payments.

The Council decided to publish two important, although preliminary, studies. One of these relates to the growth target adopted last year. It analyses growth experience of the various member countries over the past decade and looks ahead to the possible direction and structure of growth in some of the leading member countries. The second study reviews the experience





and experiments of member countries in maintaining reasonable stability of costs and prices. In stating the views of the Canadian Government during the discussion, I emphasized the importance Canada attaches to the highly successful exchange of views on economic policy within the Organization. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that these consultations on economic policy lie at the very heart of the Organization. It is of real significance to Canada to be able to contact, through the OECD, the senior representatives of our major trading partners responsible for the formation of economic policy.

I also indicated the interest of the Government in the work of the Organization over the past year in examining the policies and problems of economic growth and in analysing the means of achieving stability of costs and prices. With respect to the latter subject, I reminded the Council that the Canadian Government has laid strong emphasis on the improvement of productivity and economic efficiency, that it has established the National Productivity Council and that it has introduced recently in this House a measure to establish a National Economic Development Board.

With respect to trade, ministers addressed themselves to the important question of co-ordinating trade and aid policies adopted by member countries in their relations with the less-developed nations of the world. In a resolution approved last week, members of the Organization agreed to "seek to formulate concerted policies which are designed to further the economic development of the less-developed countries and which take full account of the interdependence between trade and aid". It is clear that most countries would prefer to live by trade rather than aid, and that the industrialized nations can help the less-developed areas by providing reasonable access to markets for their products as well as by means of international assistance.

The Ministerial Council also reviewed the activities of the Organization during the past year in the field of development assistance, noting with satisfaction the conclusions of the first annual review of the aid policies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee. Ministers recalled the decision taken recently to establish a Development Centre in the context of the OECD and recognized the need for concerted action to increase both the quantity and the quality of aid to developing countries. For this part of the meeting, in view of Japan's membership in the Development Assistance Committee, the Japanese Minister of State, Hon. Kiichi Miyazawa, was in attendance.

Ministers discussed the role of the OECD in the co-ordination of scientific programmes in member countries. They agreed to convene a special meeting of ministers in 1963 to stimulate co-operation in this important area.

The ministers of agriculture of the 20 member countries met on November 19 and 20 in Paris. The Ministerial Council of the Organization noted the results of the agriculture ministers' discussions and agreed that their work will strengthen co-operation through the OECD in the fields of agricultural policy, international agricultural trade and food aid to the less-developed countries.



The ministers were happy to welcome to the meeting senior representatives of a number of other international organizations whose work lies in fields related to that of the OECD. Statements were heard from Mr. Per Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund; Mr. Rey, a member of the Commission of the European Economic Community; Mr. Wyndham White, Executive Secretary of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and Mr. Wehrer, a member of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community....

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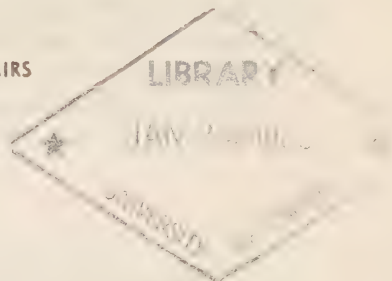






# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 62/17

## NATO'S MOST HARMONIOUS MEETING

Statement to the House of Commons on December 17,  
1962, by the Secretary of State for External  
Affairs, Mr. Howard Green.

... I thought the House might be interested in a brief report on the NATO ministerial meeting which took place in Paris last week and which I had the privilege of attending along with my colleague the Minister of National Defence...

In the background of this particular NATO meeting was the Cuban crisis; and by the way, may I say that this crisis should not be regarded as having been finally settled as yet. It is true that big steps have been taken toward a settlement, but this has not yet been concluded. The Cuban crisis has had quite noticeable effects on the Alliance. One is that as a result of the crisis the diplomatic position of the Alliance itself has been considerably improved. Then, in my opinion, the crisis has served to draw the allies much closer together than they were previously and in the case of the government of each country--and certainly this is true of Canada--it has increased the value we place on this defence organization.

### Credit to U.S.

The meetings in Paris lasted for three days and were very harmonious. In fact, they were the most harmonious meetings of NATO that I have attended. Great credit, of course, was given to the United States for the firmness yet moderation shown in the Cuban crisis. Some question was raised with regard to methods of consultation in a crisis like this, but no real complaint was made against the United States for the manner in which the allies were consulted or informed.

I think we in the Alliance face a new position with regard to consultation. Many threats are of global nature, and furthermore, one can never be quite sure in what part of the world the next threat is going to come. Then there is the question of the rapidity with which a crisis may arise. That, of course, was true in the case of Cuba, and it made consultation difficult. The Permanent Council will be studying from now on methods by which consultation can be improved. There is no doubt that we could have a better system, and an attempt will be made to work one out.



On the first day of the conference, there was an extensive review of the international situation dealing primarily with East-West relations. On behalf of Canada I took the position that NATO now has the initiative as a result of the Cuban crisis, and that every effort should be made to retain that initiative rather than getting into the position of always waiting for the Communist world to make the first move with NATO then acting in response to Communist initiatives.

### Contingency Planning

It was agreed that the Alliance must be kept strong, and we believe as well that it should be prepared to negotiate at all times. I think that is a sound policy provided there is no letting down of the guard. We also suggested that there should be an attempt made now to do some contingency planning, as it is called, in the political and diplomatic fields. There has been such planning in the military and economic fields but not sufficient in the diplomatic field. For example, I think there should be several plans worked out which would cover what the Alliance should do in case the Russians sign a peace treaty with East Germany. This is the type of contingency planning I think should be done in the political and diplomatic field.

Then we went on to point out that there is a contact with the Communist world in the disarmament negotiations which are going on in Geneva. I did not deal with this subject at any length, but Canada is one of the four NATO countries represented on the Disarmament Committee and, of course, it is a very good field in which to negotiate.

We also dealt with the relationship between NATO and the United Nations. In days gone by there has been a tendency in NATO to write down the United Nations, for quite frequently NATO nations have been criticized in New York. Canada has felt that more importance should be placed in NATO on the activities of the United Nations. For example, we pointed out several ways in which NATO's position had been improved by activities at the United Nations within the last year, and perhaps the House might be interested in these six examples which I gave:

1. The increasing support which U Thant is receiving and which indirectly undermines the prospects for the troika approach.
2. The determined current effort to find a solution in the Congo and to reduce United Nations operations and costs. These are all examples of how United Nations activities have been of great help to NATO.
3. The satisfactory outcome of Belgium's transfer of power in Rwanda and Burundi.
4. France's brilliant achievement in bringing independence to Algeria.
5. The decision of the International Court on the sharing of the peace-keeping expenditures of the United Nations.





6. The gain in prestige for the United Nations, as well as for the West, which has taken place as a result of the outcome of the Cuban crisis... U Thant has played a significant role in these negotiations, and there can be little doubt that Soviet prestige has fallen in the United Nations and in the eyes of the uncommitted nations of the world.

#### Sino-Indian Dispute

In this international review I also dealt briefly with the Chinese attack on India. Here again, NATO is vitally concerned with all the developments arising from that unfortunate conflict. Canada feels that India must not be expected to rush to align herself with the West--or, for example, to make application to join NATO. Some people may think that would be very nice, but if India were to give up her unaligned position she would certainly lose a great deal of her standing in Asia and in Africa. We have quite a good understanding of India; there is not only the Commonwealth relationship but we serve with India in the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza Strip and in the Congo forces, as well as on the Supervisory Commissions in Indochina. We believe India's position should be viewed with a great deal of sympathy by the members of the NATO alliance.

In the military field, the second day was devoted to a consideration of military questions. I think the most significant feature of that discussion was the suggestion by the United States that there is now ample deterrent capability on the Western side. Of course there is great deterrent power on the Communist side as well, with the result that it is very unlikely that either of the great nuclear powers would wish to precipitate a nuclear war and the resulting terrible destruction that would ensue. Thus it follows that the crises are likely to be of a nature not quite serious enough to precipitate a nuclear war. In other words the Communists may go just so far that they do not actually precipitate a nuclear war.

There is a realization that NATO forces could be improved considerably to deal with that type of situation. In Europe there are, of course, some proposals for a European nuclear deterrent in the shape of medium-range ballistic missiles. This question was not decided. It will be studied further by the Council. It involves great expenditures; these missiles cost a great deal of money, and I think the European nations would be expected to provide a good deal of the cold, hard cash for such a deterrent. There would also be the question of control, how they would be handled and so on. The Europeans seem to favour land-based medium-range ballistic missiles, while the United States is more interested in having such a force at sea.

#### Conventional Forces

With regard to the conventional forces, there was a plea made by the United States for strengthening them, but this would not apply to Canada; in effect the proposal was made to the European nations... Canada



strengthened her conventional forces a year ago at the time of the Berlin crisis. We were very pleased to have it pointed out, not by ourselves but by the military authorities and the United States, that Canada had lived up to her commitments and, for example, that our brigade was the only combat-ready unit in the NATO forces other than those of the United States. In spite of rumours which I have seen in the press at home since my return, there was not a word of criticism of Canada's military efforts in NATO.

There was also a discussion on research development and production. As you know... in NATO Canada has always been in favour of sharing arrangements for this type of development, and the Minister of National Defence made a statement to that effect in the course of the discussions.

Finally there was a discussion about special aid to Greece to help her with her defence expenditures. She is unable to continue the heavy expenses to which she is committed, and all the nations, or most of them in any event, are now arranging to give her some help with her defence costs. For example, Canada in 1963, subject to Parliamentary approval, will provide \$1 million in the way of spare parts for planes which Canada supplied to Greece at an earlier date, and also \$1 million in the shape of foodstuffs for the Greek army. Greece is a strong, close friend of Canada, and is very grateful to us for taking this position.

It was agreed that the next meeting, which takes place in the Spring, will be held in Ottawa on May 21, 22 and 23. I am sure that had Hon. Members of the House been in Paris they would have been very gratified if they had been attending the meetings... with the reaction of the delegates from the other member nations. They were simply delighted to be coming to Canada for this meeting, and I am sure we will all see to it that they get a warm welcome and that they leave Canada with as good an impression as they have of our country at the present time...

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CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/1

## THE CANADIAN ECONOMY IN 1962

Address by Mr. George Hees, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, at the International Business Management Course, Waterloo University College, Waterloo, Ontario, January 14, 1963

....What I would like to do tonight is outline for you some of the highlights of the Government's programme in the economic and trade field, with particular reference to the accomplishments and future plans of my Department on both the domestic and international scene. I shall follow this with a review of Canada's economic progress during 1962, and a look at the prospects for the year ahead. I am sure this will illustrate clearly how our programme, which has been carefully worked out and energetically executed, is being translated into more jobs and a better living for all Canadians.

During 1962 the Department of Trade and Commerce continued to expand its activities to assist businessmen to increase production and to achieve greater sales, both at home and abroad.

On the domestic front, the Department, through its Domestic Commerce Service, has successfully directed its activities towards helping Canadian industry take advantage of new production opportunities.

### Aid to Secondary Industry

At the present stage of Canada's economic affairs, it is widely recognized that our secondary industry must be given all possible assistance to expand and thereby provide more employment opportunities. To this end, the Department has worked successfully with the business community through a variety of programmes. The Industrial Promotion Branch of the Domestic Commerce Service has now been organized into industry divisions and these divisions maintain constant contact and liaison with their respective industrial sectors to assist businessmen with information and advice. Through its programmes of import analysis and industry studies, the Branch has been able to provide industry with leads to new production opportunities. In co-operation with our trade representatives in the United States and abroad, it has initiated an enlarged programme to promote licensing arrangements between foreign and Canadian firms. In the past the Department has found that licensing arrangements are an excellent method of bringing new production to Canada and with our expanded programme we are hopeful of making further substantial gains in new production.



The success of our activities in the industrial-promotion field depend, however, to a considerable degree upon the initiative and resourcefulness of Canadian industry itself. For this reason, during the past six months the Department has sponsored a series of industrial-expansion conferences in various regions of Canada. A National Industrial Expansion Conference was held in Ottawa last September and, following this, regional conferences were held in Montreal and Hamilton. A Prairie Regional Conference will be held in Winnipeg next month, and tentative plans have been made for an additional conference in Vancouver. The purpose of these meetings has been to discuss directly with businessmen ways and means of achieving greater production and procurement in Canada. Not only has the business community responded warmly to these meetings, but the practical suggestions and ideas that have come from these sessions have been very helpful, both to the Government and to businessmen themselves.

Last year the Department also embarked upon a widespread programme for the improvement of design in Canadian industry. In the struggle for markets today, design can be as important a factor as price in determining sales. For this reason, the Design Branch of the Department, in co-operation with the National Design Council, has been bringing to the attention of businessmen everywhere the vital importance of good product design.

#### Development Boards

During 1962 the Government introduced a number of pieces of legislation which will be major factors in achieving Canadian economic expansion. In particular, I would like to refer to the legislation establishing the National Economic Development Board and the Atlantic Development Board.

The essential task of the National Economic Development Board will be to study economic trends, particularly the possible longer-term developments of the economy and, in the light of these assessments, to advise the Government on policies for overall economic growth.

The Atlantic Development Board was established to perform similar functions with respect to the economic development of the Atlantic Provinces. The Government feels that it must devote special attention to those areas of Canada, which for various reasons, have not kept pace with the growth of other regions. For this reason, the Atlantic Development Board will advise on policies to assist and encourage new resource exploration and development, the development of secondary industry and other ways and means of achieving greater economic growth in the Maritime Provinces.

With the establishment of these boards, the work of the National Productivity Council has become even more important. Consequently, amendments to the National Productivity Council Act were introduced in 1962 to strengthen the Council's ability to implement its enlarged programmes.

#### Making Industry More Competitive

During the past two years, the Council has successfully undertaken a very comprehensive and extremely useful programme to assist Canadian industry to become more competitive in home and in world markets. It has





sponsored courses of work study. It has played an important role in encouraging improved management techniques, and the use of training and re-training programmes. It has examined the extent of industrial research in certain sectors of Canadian industry, with a view to considering ways and means of encouraging more research throughout all sectors of industry. But one of its most important tasks has been the promotion of labour-management co-operation. Its series of labour-management seminars, at which labour and management leaders have discussed their problems frankly, have been extremely successful. Through these discussions, labour and management have come to understand the viewpoints of the other, and have realized that they have a great deal in common.

One of the most worthwhile projects of the Council in this field was its mission to Europe, whose members were drawn from labour, management, education and government. The Council, in sending this mission, believed that it was very desirable to obtain a better knowledge of the experience of other countries in undertaking economic activities designed to expand employment. In each of the countries visited, the mission held detailed discussions with leading representatives of national labour and management organizations, government economic agencies, and with labour-management-government consultative bodies. There is little doubt that labour-management-government co-operation has contributed greatly to the general economic growth of Europe. Naturally there are other factors which have also contributed to this expansion. But without co-operation between these three key sectors, the task of achieving economic growth is increased greatly.

This domestic economic programme has been built in the space of the last two years. It is now exerting a major influence on the growth and diversification of our economy, which is the key to our competitive strength, both at home and in foreign markets.

### International Trade

Canada's economic development and prosperity also depend to a very great extent on international trade. We stand fifth among trading countries of the world in terms of total volume, and first among the major trading nations in terms of per capita trade. One-fourth of our income is derived from exports. Naturally, in these circumstances, any significant development in the trade field is bound to affect in some way the economic and social progress of Canada.

From the point of view of the expansion of total world trade, 1962 has been a favourable year; but I think that 1962 will be particularly remembered as the year which set the stage for far-reaching and promising trade developments in the years immediately ahead. Following the notable expansion of world trade in 1961, trade in 1962 is expected to show a further important step forward. The figures for the first six months of 1962 indicate that world trade will reach an unprecedented high level.



Similarly, for Canada, 1962 trade will probably reach the highest levels ever recorded, and we can reasonably expect an export surplus for the second year in a row.

These results are in no small part due to increased and sustained efforts on the part of Canadian industry to respond effectively to the challenges and opportunities of world trade. They are also influenced by the terms of access for Canadian exports in our markets abroad. Our policy has been directed to consolidating these results, and to creating more favourable conditions in the face of fundamental changes on the international scene. In Britain, which is our second-largest market, a large group of our exports would be confronted with imposing barriers should her negotiations to join the European Economic Community be successful.

#### Canada and the EEC

We have kept the British Government fully aware of the importance we attach to this trade and, in their negotiations with The Six, they are pressing for adequate safeguards for traditional Canadian interests. In this connection, we have been assisting the British by providing the fullest details of Canadian trade interests. The Commonwealth prime ministers' conference of last September was particularly successful in that regard. We are going even further. Our efforts are also directed to ensuring the best conditions of rapid growth in our export trade in the event of a united Europe including Britain.

Regardless of the problems which may confront Canada as a result of British accession to the EEC, some of which would have evolved in any case, the world trading community is confronted with a series of problems arising mainly from the creation of the European Common Market, the aspirations of the less-developed countries for immediate economic and social progress and the chaotic situation of agriculture in international trade. A challenging opportunity for some solutions to these problems has been recently provided by promulgation of the United States Trade Expansion Act. In a letter to the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Canada welcomed and warmly endorsed this initiative by the United States, and put forward proposals for the holding of a world conference of like-minded countries. A proposal to that effect, sponsored jointly by Canada and the United States, has been accepted by member countries of GATT, and a special ministerial meeting will be convened early in 1963. Its purpose will be to consider a programme for effective liberalization and expansion of trade. The benefits of this initiative will be shared by industrialized and under-developed countries alike.

Also of great importance to Canada in the international-trade field is the recent decision by the United Nations to convene a world trade conference early in 1964, particularly devoted to finding ways and means to increase the export income of the less-developed countries.

Undoubtedly, 1963 will be an eventful and decisive year for the free-world trading community. I am confident that, through the implementation of proposed world-wide initiatives in 1963, we will assist in a substantive





and early movement towards the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade, and secure easier access for Canadian products into the markets of the world.

#### Attention to Tourist Industry

In line with the Government's drive to sell more Canadian goods abroad and to earn more money for Canada, the Travel Bureau - which made impressive strides under my colleagues, Douglas Harkness, Alvin Hamilton and Walter Dinsdale - was recently returned to the Department of Trade and Commerce (which it left 14 years ago).

Canada's income from visitors has risen steadily in recent years. The tourist industry is now probably the biggest single "export" industry in this country. Tourism means income to all parts of Canada, and a very substantial contribution to the assets side of Canada's international balance of payments.

Over the next five years, as we prepare to welcome the world to Canada in 1967, the Government will continue to expand the Travel Bureau's programme, and to mesh its efforts more closely with those of Canada's trade commissioners and posts abroad. Travel promotion is a vital part of our drive for export dollars.

The Trade Commissioner Service is continuously extending its wealth of assistance to Canadian industry. The Service is one of the media through which Canada keeps pace with rapidly changing conditions in markets abroad. In 1962, the Department recruited 16 new officers, the largest new class in its history.

The trade-promotional strength and the experienced activity of our Service is highly regarded by the businessmen of Canada. Preliminary figures for the first ten months of 1962 indicate that over 800 new agency agreements, involving sales of more than \$47-million worth of Canadian exports, were directly influenced by our offices abroad.

#### A Year of Missions

During the past year, 175 businessmen and representatives of organized labour, on 20 Canadian trade missions, have been sent abroad by my Department. The export interests of these missions include capital and consumer goods, industrial materials, chemicals, forest products, agriculture and fisheries products. The markets covered were Britain, Europe, the United States, Latin America, the West Indies, the Middle East, Australia and New Zealand.

The outstanding success achieved by these missions has far exceeded our original expectations, not only in direct selling, but also in laying foundations for future sales of Canadian products in world markets. Among the important results of the trade mission has been the personal introduction of Canadian businessmen to foreign markets. For example, only four



of the 14 members of one mission had previously visited that particular area. Since the mission's return six months ago, ten of its members have made one or more successful trips overseas! Their experience has made them enthusiastic disciples of the "get-out-and-sell" technique.

Canadian manufacturers are more than ever aware of the exceptional export opportunities afforded by trade fairs, where buyers and sellers come together to discuss the actual products on display. The Department's 1962 trade-fair programme covered such world markets as Britain, the United States, Ghana, Nigeria, West Germany, France, South Africa, and Czechoslovakia.

The increased programme of participation in 37 foreign fairs, almost double the number in 1961, introduced many firms to export selling for the first time, and took Canadian products to new and promising markets.

#### Canada-U.S. Trade

In the highly-sophisticated markets of the United States, Canadian exhibitors have enjoyed spectacular success. At a machine-tool exhibition held in Los Angeles in October, one participant closed an initial order totalling more than \$200,000. Among the many successful exhibitors at a recent instrument-automation conference and exhibition, a Canadian electronic manufacturer is negotiating for orders totalling over one and a quarter million dollars.

1962 was the year of the samples show. This novel form of trade show brought Canadian exporters into personal touch with buyers from the United States. It was an extremely successful innovation. During the year, my Department sponsored four regional samples shows, in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver; the latter two were joint ventures with the provincial governments. A total of 356 Canadian firms exhibited their wares to 373 United States buyers and merchandise managers, who represented major retail outlets in the United States.

#### U.S. Views on Samples Shows

The success of these shows greatly exceeded our expectations. Millions of dollars of business has resulted. Here are typical comments by United States buyers:

"I did not realize Canada made such a variety of consumer goods with such a high degree of design".

In the words of a New York executive "The samples show gives the buyers an opportunity to examine products instead of catalogues".

And now let me tell you of our massive trade-promotional plans for next March and April - "Operation World Markets". This has four consecutive phases:





1. World Markets - Machinery

In the last week of March we are bringing to Canada about 200 senior engineers and technicians of industry and government from countries all over the world, to study at first hand, and to observe for themselves, Canada's heavy-equipment industry. When they return to their own countries they will carry with them a first-hand awareness of Canadian capacity to manufacture and export machinery of many types.

2. National Canadian Samples Show

The success of the regional samples shows more than warrants a national show for all Canada. This will present the products of over 400 Canadian manufacturers, and thus be a major attraction to buyers of consumer goods. It will give Canadian manufacturers, at nominal cost, an opportunity to obtain the reaction to their products of 600 buyers from the United States, Britain, Europe and the West Indies, who will be in Toronto on April 2 and 3.

3. Trade Commissioner Conference

After the National Canadian Samples Show, more than 120 trade commissioners, from our posts all over the world, will meet in Ottawa to exchange ideas and to hold discussions with departmental officials on ways and means of expanding Canadian overseas trade.

4. The Second Export Trade Promotion Conference

The Export Trade Promotion Conference in Ottawa in December 1960 was an outstanding success. It brought 1,365 Canadian businessmen together with 110 trade commissioners for a total of 10,502 personal interviews. Canadian businessmen are again invited to come to Ottawa and discuss their problems with individual trade commissioners in similar personal sessions. We anticipate that more than 2,000 of them will take advantage of this tremendous opportunity, and we are preparing for more than 20,000 interviews. This conference has been described as the quickest possible tour of export markets at the world's most reasonable travel rates. It costs a two-day visit to Ottawa between April 16 and May 3.

During 1962, we took additional steps to help Canadian businessmen finance their export sales. This was done through amendments to the Export Credits Insurance Act.

Export Credits

The Export Credits Insurance Corporation, which is responsible for the administration of the Export Credits Insurance Act, operates in two main fields -- export-credits insurance, and long-term financing. It has just completed its biggest year since starting operations in 1945. A total of \$900 million is now available for direct assistance to exporters, of which \$600 million is earmarked for insurance, and \$300 million for direct financing of export sales on a long-term basis. The 1962 amendments to the Act dealt specifically with these limits, which were previously \$400 million for insurance,



and \$200 million for long-term financing, so that an extra \$300 million has been added to further assist Canadian exporters.

Financing totalling more than \$57 million has already been made available to Canadian exporters, covering large capital-goods projects involving six foreign countries. In addition, commitments have been given to Canadian exporters totalling a further \$100 million, covering transactions in seven foreign countries, and all of these deals are nearing a point of completion. Of the \$157 million already authorized for this long-term financing programme, more than half was approved during 1962.

### Progress of the Economy

So much for the programme itself. Now let's take a look at the results in terms of the progress of our economy.

1962 has been a year of strong advance. The quickened pace of business activity which took hold in 1961 has continued in the current year. As a result, the economic gains realized in 1962 are among the largest of the post-war years. On the basis of statistics now available, it is estimated that Canada's gross national product, which is the sum of all goods and services produced in Canada, increased by 8 per cent between 1961 and 1962. The gross national product in real terms, - that is, with the effects of any price increase removed - is up by about 7 per cent. The comparable increases in national output for the same period in other major industrial countries, based on estimates now available, are as follows. (The statistics are all based on official figures of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the U.S. Government and the European Economic Commission. They cover the nine months from January to September 1962. The final quarter in each case has been estimated according to standard procedures.):

<u>Country</u>	<u>Percentage Increase In National Output</u>
Canada.....	7 per cent
United States.....	5 per cent
United Kingdom.....	1 per cent
Germany.....	4 per cent
France.....	5 per cent
Italy.....	6 per cent
Belgium.....	3 per cent
Netherlands.....	3 per cent
Sweden.....	4 per cent
Japan.....	4 or 5 per cent





In the case of Japan only, the increase of 4 or 5 per cent is based on U.S. Department of Commerce and Japanese Government figures. It covers the eight months January to August, and the final four months have been estimated according to standard practice.

It is apparent from these figures that, in terms of the rate of growth in national output, Canada leads the major industrial countries of the free world. Moreover, within Canada's recent history, this rate of growth has been exceeded in only three of the past 17 years.

This expansion is all the more notable in that it has been achieved in the face of increasingly competitive world conditions, which is in sharp contrast to the buoyant demand situation of earlier post-war years.

#### Main Growth in Goods Production

The growth in output between 1961 and 1962 has been more pronounced in goods-producing industries than in services, and a major part of the gains have been realized in sectors of industry which are highly exposed to foreign competition. Figures available to date show industrial production in total up by more than 8 per cent. A number of secondary industries have contributed materially to this advance. Approximately 500,000 motor vehicles were produced in Canada in 1962, 30 per cent more than in 1961, and surpassing the previous record levels of the mid-50's. Production of electrical apparatus increased by 15 per cent, appliances by 15 per cent and textiles by 9 per cent. Rising activity in durable-goods industries and in construction kept Canada's steel mills running close to capacity.

On the basis of figures so far available, the materials which have shown substantial production gains so far this year compared with last include the following:

	<u>Percentage Increase</u>
Steel	10
Petroleum and equivalent	17
Natural gas	44
Iron Ore	44
Lumber	12
Cement	11

Expanding industrial activity has brought a substantial increase in new job opportunities. In the first 11 months of the year, 177,000 more persons were employed, on average, than in the same period of 1961. The rise in employment has exceeded the growth in the labour force, and there have been 85,000 fewer persons unemployed. In 1962 there were 5.9 per cent of the labour force unemployed, compared with 7.2 per cent in 1961 and 7.0 per cent in 1960.



## Foreign Performance

A key feature of the current expansion has been our strong performance in foreign markets. Figures for the first 10 months of 1962 show merchandise exports 9 per cent higher this year compared with last. This follows upon a similar increase between 1960 and 1961. In other words, within the space of two years, Canada's annual sales abroad have risen from \$5.4 billion to something in excess of \$6.3 billion, an increase of more than one-sixth. Items figuring prominently in this year's increase include iron ore, aluminum, petroleum and natural gas, lumber, woodpulp and a number of manufactured products. The continuing growth in exports of highly-manufactured products, such as machinery and equipment, and finished consumer goods, is a particularly significant aspect of recent trade developments. Exports of this kind have increased by more than one-quarter over the last two years.

Strong demand conditions in Canada have resulted in higher imports, which in the first ten months of the year are up 12 per cent. Much of this increase reflects the rise in prices of goods purchased abroad, associated with the change in exchange rate. This means that a relatively small part of the recent growth of real demand in Canada has been supplied from abroad. It is also in sharp contrast to previous periods of strong expansion, when increased domestic demand gave rise to a major upsurge in the volume of imports. In the current situation, a much larger proportion of the rise in domestic purchases is being supplied from Canadian sources.

Underpinning Canada's accelerated growth has been the broad programme of federal measures designed to speed industrial development, and in particular, to strengthen the competitive ability of the Canadian producer. A central feature of this programme has been the action taken to bring the exchange value of the Canadian dollar into line with present needs for economic development. After running at a premium on the U.S. dollar for a number of years, the Canadian dollar was brought to a discount in 1961, and, in May 1962, was pegged at  $92\frac{1}{2}$  cents in terms of U.S. currency.

In the prevailing conditions of intensive international competition, an exchange-rate shift of this magnitude provides an important lift to the wide range of industries competing with foreign goods, both domestically and abroad. Moreover, the establishment of a fixed exchange rate removes much of the uncertainty as to future returns which, under conditions of a fluctuating rate, acts as a deterrent to the development of new lines of production in internationally competitive fields.

## Reserve Build-up

The resiliency of the economy, and the effectiveness of measures taken by the Government to counteract exchange difficulties that developed last summer, are exemplified by the rapid buildup of our reserves. These stood at \$2.5 billion at the end of December compared with \$1.1 billion on June 24. Furthermore, of the \$1.05 billion obtained by Canada in standby credits from various international sources, only \$300 million is still outstanding to the International Monetary Fund.





Other features of the Government's programme include the provision of more adequate credit facilities for export and other purposes, encouragement to industrial research, greatly increased assistance for technical training and various forms of financial incentives, aimed at industrial expansion.

Proof of the effectiveness of these incentives is the advice I received a few days ago from the vice-president of a large corporation. May I just quote a line from his letter: "Our firm must depend largely upon export, and we are fortunate that our parent company, because of the recent tax incentives for expansion, has seen fit to feed so much of this work to us. This has enabled us to build up an operation to over 1500 strong, more than two-thirds of whom are engaged in production for export".

#### Response of Producers

The response on the part of Canadian producers has been vigorous. A growing awareness of the need for new initiatives in industry is widely evident throughout the business community. While there are already indications of new gains being made in both the domestic and foreign markets, the beneficial effects of these new initiatives should be increasingly apparent in the period ahead. In fact the further penetration of markets arising from the new competitive strength of Canadian producers should provide a major source of stimulus in the coming year.

While the task ahead is not an easy one, and possibly the roughest part of the road is yet to be travelled, there is every reason for Canadians to look to the future with new confidence. One who does so is Mr. A.T. Lambert, President of the Toronto Dominion Bank. In his annual statement a few weeks ago, Mr. Lambert had this to say about our country's economic outlook:

"The resiliency of production, employment and income; the basic improvement already attained in our balance of payments; the success with which we have weathered the exchange crisis; the stability of our prices, in spite of the depreciation of the dollar -- these are cold facts, not fancies. Surely they give evidence of our ability to resume vigorous expansion, and to continue it through 1963".

And so, let our watchwords for 1963 be energy, determination and confidence. We have made tremendous strides in the year just past. We can make the year ahead an example of progress and prosperity unmatched in our country's history.

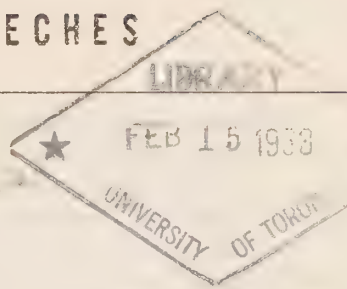
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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



## No. 63/2 WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION

Address by Mr. A.D.P. Heeney, Chairman of  
the Canadian Section of the International  
Joint Commission, to the Canadian Club of  
Montreal, January 14, 1963

Surely, history can afford few examples of two sovereign nations having as much to do with one another as Canada and the United States. The multitude and extent of our dealings is matched by their almost endless variety. They range all the way from the great issues of war and peace to the detailed bargaining of our mutual commerce - and the care and feeding of each other's tourists. They include not only public affairs, but the thousands of daily, hourly, contacts between our citizens in virtually every department of human activity.

In addition to the normal diplomatic means for the conduct of business between the two governments, there has developed - particularly in recent years - a considerable network of "joint" Canada-United States committees and boards to deal with particular problems. So, for example, we have joint Canada-U.S. committees at cabinet level on defence, on trade and economic affairs - and a number of other bodies, similarly constituted, on various subjects, at the official and expert level. The practice of Canadians sitting down with Americans around a table to tackle problems we have in common has become a settled feature of our dealings with Uncle Sam - private as well as official.

There is no need for me to emphasize to this audience the supreme national importance of our relations with the United States. Nor should it be necessary to do more than mention what seems to me self-evident, namely, that this relationship is presently in an especially important phase.

What I do propose is to say something of one venerable (in North American terms) Canada-U.S. institution (with which I am now connected), which is concerned not usually with matters of high policy but nevertheless with an area of significance to our national future.





## Origin of IJC

Among the means which the United States and Canada have devised for dealing with one another is the body known as the International Joint Commission. In the development of joint Canada-U.S. institutions, the IJC was among the earliest; it dates from 1909. It is also true to say that, by common repute, this body possesses a creditable record, over this half century, in disposing of many problems of importance to the two countries.

## A Bit of History

The IJC was, in form at any rate, the outcome of British-American diplomacy - for the treaty which created it was concluded before Canada acquired full control of her own external affairs. The signatories were both celebrated in their generation: on behalf of Great Britain, James Bryce, His Majesty's scholarly Ambassador at the time and, on behalf of the United States, the then Secretary of State, Elihu Root. But the real work of the treaty, and the development of much of the original doctrine on which agreement was ultimately achieved, was contributed by a Canadian, (Sir) George Gibbons of London, Ontario. It is he who should rightfully be regarded as the father of the IJC and the chief architect of the regime over which it presides. Sir George, apparently, had no easy time with the State Department on his many visits to Washington in the course of the negotiations. The Secretary of War, Taft, he found "disposed to take a large view". But he reported, in a letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that he thought Root "a shrewd American who wants all he can get without being particular about the manner of getting"! He later modified this extreme view.

The despatches and private letters which record these long, and tough - and successful - negotiations make interesting reading. Gibbons, instructed by the Government in Ottawa, carried the ball. Bryce, however, from his more exalted position, appears to have been personally interested and helpful. I note - with some measure of envy in retrospect - that, when the discussions dragged on into the intolerable Washington summers, the British Ambassador was able to direct his despatches from "Seal Harbour, Maine"!

The treaty was ultimately signed in Washington on January 11, 1909, and ratified by the two governments early in 1910. Poor Sir George, alas, failed - though by only a very short head - to become the first Canadian Chairman of the new body which had been born in his image. The Order-in-Council for his appointment was drawn and signed. But the approval of the Crown did not follow. In the interval, there had been a general election. Canada had a new Government and Mr. Chase-Casgrain of Montreal sat first in the Canadian Chair.



## The Treaty and the Commission

The object of the treaty was "to prevent disputes - to settle questions - between the United States and Canada". The short title was the "Boundary Waters Treaty", for the particular problems which the governments had in mind at the time were those arising "along the common frontier". It is interesting, nevertheless, that provision was made for wider application of the treaty regime, and for broader functions for the Commission.

The IJC was an unusual international body when it was established. It still is. Not only in its composition - there are three Commissioners from each country - but, more important, in the way it operates.

The concept of the negotiators was that solutions to problems in which the two countries had differing - even opposing - interests should be sought, not by the usual bilateral negotiation, but in the joint deliberations of a permanent tribunal composed equally of Canadians and Americans. In other words, the Commissioners were to act, not as separate national delegations under instruction of their respective governments, but as a single body seeking common solutions in the joint interest - and, very important, in accordance with agreed "rules or principles".

It is on this basis that the International Joint Commission has acted over the years. Its record of accomplishment has been impressive, particularly when one considers the unparalleled expansion of both countries in its (50-year) lifetime when variations and conflicts of interest were bound to develop. In almost every case which has come before them, the Commissioners have been unanimous. There has been little tendency to divide on national lines. The faith of the two governments in the method of the treaty has been amply justified.

## Notable Cases

The problems which have come before the Commission so far have all arisen along the boundary. The majority have had to do with use of the great common resource of inland waters - rivers and lakes - which stretch from Passamaquoddy Bay to Juan de Fuca Strait. They have involved questions of domestic and sanitary supply, navigation, power development and irrigation. They have varied in nature and extent from extracting the maximum benefit from small streams in dry prairie areas to multi-million dollar developments on our great rivers. Most cases have come before the Commission as agreed "references" from the two governments, upon which, after investigation, conclusions and recommendations have gone forward to Washington and Ottawa. In many others, the IJC has exercised its judicial role and ruled upon applications made and argued before it. In some instances the Commission's role, having begun as deliberative and advisory, has continued into the administrative and regulatory.





Perhaps the best known cases in recent years have been those which had to do with our two greatest rivers, the St. Lawrence and the Columbia.

The role of the Commission in relation to the vast St. Lawrence developments of the past ten years arose from the desire of Ontario and New York to develop the International Section of the river for electric-power production. Also involved, of course, was the construction of the Seaway. In addition, the Commission was directed by the two governments to study Lake Ontario levels with a view to reducing extremes of stage by appropriate regulation in the interests of all concerned - riparian owners, navigation and power.

Most of this is ancient history. The Seaway, the hydro-electric plants and related works are built and in operation. The St. Lawrence Valley above Montreal has, literally, been remade. But the Commission retains an important function in relation to levels and flows. These are regulated weekly under the Commission's scrutiny and according to a plan designed best to serve all legitimate interests - above and below the dam at Cornwall and on both sides of the boundary. Nor do we ignore, in this complicated equation, the important Canadian interest in the Port of Montreal - although the Commission's jurisdiction does not extend to the national section. It is worth noting that, in the course of the regulatory process, your great harbour has not infrequently been above the levels existing before the Seaway and power development. The Commission is meeting again this very week to review once more, in the light of our experience, this whole complicated business of regulation, to see whether we cannot devise further improvements for all concerned.

The development of the great Columbia River basin is a matter of wide current interest, and comment, in both Canada and the United States. The International Joint Commission was directly involved in various aspects of this immense and complicated problem over a period of 15 years.

The Columbia is no longer actively before the IJC - has not been since December 1959, when it recommended "principles" upon which agreement might be made. It is now being dealt with by governments directly, on the basis of the treaty negotiated in 1960 and signed at Washington by President Eisenhower and Mr. Diefenbaker on January 17, 1961.

Another case, of special interest to Quebec, is the recent reference to the Commission on a proposed Champlain Waterway. Some months ago, the two governments asked the Commission to examine and report upon the feasibility of developing the historic St. Lawrence-Lake Champlain-Hudson River route. Here our preliminary investigations are now going forward, in accord with our usual practice, through a joint board of Canadian and



American experts. They will be reporting to us on the economics as well as on the engineering aspects of such an undertaking. Following the Commission's normal procedure, we will also be conducting public hearings in the areas directly affected, in both countries. For it has been one of the features of Commission operation to give full opportunity to local interests to make their views known. Finally, in the light of such representations, and of the reports prepared by our experts, the Commission will deliberate in private and, I fully expect, will in due course formulate recommendations for submission to the two governments.

The Commission's responsibilities also extend to improving and maintaining acceptable standards of quality in boundary waters. Here, its efforts over the years have had beneficial results, for example, in greatly improving the situation in the crowded Detroit-Windsor region and in the St. Croix River Valley in N.B., in both of which pollution threatened increasing injury to important national interests on both sides of the boundary.

### Conclusion

This then is one method - in one important area of our affairs - for "dealing with Uncle Sam". Over a period of more than 50 years, Canadians have had reason to be satisfied with the results. The fact that Americans have probably had equal cause for satisfaction should not sully but rather enhance that record in Canadian eyes. It contributes a desirable sanity and permanence in our relations.

The principle behind the IJC is that, given mutual goodwill (assumed, despite recurrent difficulties between Canada and the U.S.), neighbouring countries, can, and should, resolve the problems which derive from their "neighbourhood" by an objective process of joint investigation and deliberation in the joint interest. The IJC is, in fact, based upon the conviction that, working together, Canadians and Americans can arrive at common decisions and formulate joint solutions, which are sound and just and to the common advantage of their respective countries.

Whether this same principle and similar procedures could usefully be extended beyond problems of the boundary seems to me worthy of consideration, on both sides, and this especially as Canadian-United States mutual involvement, and our "dealings with Uncle Sam", increase daily, in volume, complexity and significance.







# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/3

## CANADA - A CREATION OF IMMIGRANTS

A Address to the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada, Toronto, on January 20, 1963, by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. R.A. Bell.

...Canada has been built and sustained by the strength of immigrant people. Today, some 350 years after the first European adventurers settled on our shores, approximately one-sixth of our population was born in some other land. Indeed, in 1961 Canada had a slightly larger proportion than in 1951 of foreign-born residents - a reflection of the high level of immigration during the decade.

### More People Needed

Make no mistake, this country needs a larger population to achieve its full national potential. Our destiny cannot be fulfilled with only 18.7 million people. We simply do not have the population to develop the rich and vast resources of what is territorially one of the giant nations of the world. I would not hazard a guess as to what number of people is the balanced figure for our optimum national development, but we have ample room to grow in - that is certain! The question to be decided is not whether our population should grow - but at what pace it should grow.

Our Canadian birth rate of 27 per thousand of population is one of the highest of the developed nations of the world. But the historic fact is that the normal processes of population growth, taken by themselves, are not enough. Yes, Canada must have a much larger population and immigration must be a major factor in that population growth.

...I am not one of those timorous souls who believes that a balanced intake of well-selected immigrants is an impediment to economic growth in Canada. On the contrary, I believe that the introduction into Canada of properly selected and prepared immigrants provides a positive, direct and immediate stimulus to the economic growth of the country.



## Immigrant Contribution

New immigrants have made and will continue to make a vital contribution to our economic development, to our expansion. As consumers, they increase the demand for domestically-produced goods and this additional demand creates new employment opportunities, new income, further demand throughout the country. And the impetus to the expansion of our domestic consumer market encourages the development of more efficient units of production, the establishment of newer and more diversified industrial enterprises and the reduction of our dependence upon the vagaries and uncertainties of external trade.

All this is quite apart from the new capital, the new assets brought to Canada by those who settle on hundreds of farms, by those who establish new industries. In 1962, over \$100 million in cash and other assets have been added to our economic stream by immigrants.

## Ethnic Diversity

But look at the less mercenary aspect! The enrichment of Canadian life, the advancement of our culture! Each day I have reminders of how new arrivals, filled with enthusiasm, energy and the will to succeed have enriched our national culture, expanded our Canadian tradition in fields such as science, education, the arts -- yes, even in politics. As I look about the House of Commons, I am reminded of our ethnic diversity, from the present Prime Minister (the first Prime Minister not of Anglo-Saxon, or French origin), the delightful Minister of Labour, the many, many Members in whose veins flows the blood of many lands. Myself, something of an Irish rebel, I don't lament the tempering of Anglo-Saxon and Norman attitudes in politics by the spirit and enthusiasm of other bloods.

...I was not long on the job before I realized one thing - and it is at the very core of the administration of immigration which I intend to pursue. My task is to bring warm-hearted, human understanding to the cold print of immigration laws. The admission of immigrants, because of their economic contribution, because of factors which I might describe as economic opportunism - this cannot be the whole answer. Humanitarian and moral considerations are basic considerations to be respected, to be applied in the administration of our immigration laws. The fundamental task of any Minister of Immigration is to maintain a fair, impartial and non-discriminatory administration, coupled (and I emphasize that word coupled) with a warm and sympathetic understanding of the basic human problems involved.

## Setting Objectives

Dangerous perhaps it is to endeavour to say in any particular year what is a desirable level of immigration or to set long-range goals. But I believe, nonetheless, that we must step up our objectives, set targets for ourselves. In my view,





the present absorptive capacity of the Canadian economy is approximately one per cent of our population per annum. This, I emphasize, is a target, an objective, not necessarily to be achieved in 1963 or in 1964, but a target, an objective, which I believe is in the long-run interests of the Canadian nation -- one which will provide a genuine stimulus to our whole Canadian economy.

The "feast-or-famine" approach to immigration, the "tap on -- tap off", will not produce the economic growth which all of us so greatly desire. In my view, a satisfactory flow of immigrants to Canada, particularly from our traditional sources, requires a consistent and regular programme of information and promotion. We need to tell our story abroad, to spell out the opportunities which exist in Canada, to assure prospective immigrants of the fact that Canadians genuinely want them as fellow-citizens.

In my view, 1961 was the low point in our immigration. 1962 showed a slight upgrade and 1963 holds promise of very substantial improvement. Since the new Regulations came into effect last February 1, the number of applications received has increased by over 50 per cent and the trend is definitely upwards. I shall do my best to stimulate that movement.

These new Regulations have now had 11 months of trial. On the whole, they are working well and have opened new avenues to prospective immigrants. They remove from our immigration laws the last vestiges of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or creed. Indeed, Canada is one of the few countries of the world which can assert that it has made a genuine, an honest effort to remove discrimination from its immigration policy. That certainly will be the policy as long as I am the Minister.

#### Today's Basis for Choice

Selection today is on the basis of universal and uniform criteria applied everywhere in the world. The stress is upon education, training and skills as the principal conditions of admission. One of the problems which worries me is whether our definition of skills is adequate. There are certainly many difficulties in this field. For example, it is difficult to equate training in different parts of the world with that required for Canadian employment. How do you assess qualifications and decide what is equivalent to Canadian training, experience and qualifications? That is the difficult problem. And it is not enough for a visa officer overseas merely to make a routine assessment of skills in the narrow sense. Significant also is the assessment of such intangible qualities as resourcefulness, initiative, integrity, flexibility -- intangibles which cannot easily be reduced to precise assessment, but which are the real qualities which make a good immigrant for Canada.





There are those who raise doubts about immigration, who talk of "the babel of tongues" or use other discordant phrases. To them, I would suggest they first cast the mote out of their own eye. If there be any problem, it is one created very largely by those of us who are older immigrants to Canada, by our failure to extend a sufficiently warm welcome to the newcomers. This is one reason why your work is so significant.

Newcomers do not isolate themselves into cultural and linguistic ghettos by choice. No immigrant wants to live in isolation from the rest of us, but he will cling to what he knows until he feels secure in his new surroundings. It is up to us to help in giving him that feeling of security which will bring him out of his protective shell.

### No Pure Canadian Culture

Personally, I reject the idea of a pure Canadian culture -- for that is what the expression "babel of tongues" seems to imply. It is as repugnant as Hitler's doctrine of Nordic superiority. Today, Canada is approximately one-third Anglo-Saxon, one-third French and one-third other in ethnic background. The Canadian culture in which I believe arises from the collectivity of the cultures of all these groups, the acceptance by each of the best of the cultures of others. Ours is and must always be a pluralist culture, made richer by the variety of its components. That is why it is right to speak of unity in diversity, that is why the full development of our nationhood requires the contributions of all Canadians whatever their background or heritage. And it is on that theory and principle that our immigration policy is based.

### Refugee Policy

...What is not generally recognized is that Canada has the best record of any nation in the Western world in dealing with refugees. From the admission of veterans of the Polish Army after the Second World War, we have been in the forefront, the recognized champions of humanitarianism. The 37,000 Hungarian refugees admitted since 1957 constituted the greatest number of any country in the world, and I am glad to say that this movement was a definite success. Day by day, I see the applications being made by these refugees for citizenship and I learn of the way in which they have adjusted to Canadian life. It is a courageous story and a proud record.

Last year, Canada continued its policy of accepting unsponsored refugees from Europe without numerical limitation. Our normal immigrant selection criteria were relaxed, as has been the case during and since World Refugee Year, in order to permit any refugee with reasonable prospects of employment in Canada to migrate regardless of age or minor physical handicap. The educational and occupational requirements established under the new Immigration Regulations were also interpreted with special





leniency in the case of these refugees. Those who failed to meet even these limited standards were considered under the private-sponsorship scheme or the handicapped-refugee programme.

With the help of private organizations and individuals, the refugee private sponsorship scheme which began in World Refugee Year was also maintained in 1962. A number of other refugees were also admitted to Canada within the ordinary immigration provisions under the sponsorship of their close relatives in Canada.

### Special Projects

As well, special refugee programmes were carried out by the Government during 1962. A special authorization was granted for the admission of 50 families of stateless persons from the Middle East to be settled in Canada under private auspices. The majority of these families have already arrived in Canada and are being settled without difficulty.

Although there were no government-sponsored movements of refugees affected by tuberculosis last year, the treatment and integration of those who had arrived previously continued with success. The three movements which took place between December 1959 and March 1961 included 325 tubercular patients and their dependents for a total of 826 persons. Most of these persons have now succeeded in establishing themselves in Canada, and I consider that, on the whole, this movement has been very successful.

In May 1962, the Canadian Government decided to accept 100 families of Chinese refugees from Hong Kong. Some 76 families have already arrived in Canada and their settlement is proceeding satisfactorily with the co-operation of individuals and private organizations across the country. While this is a special movement, initiated against the background of the emergency in Hong Kong early last year, it must be borne in mind that Canada has, during the past 14 years, received under its normal immigration provisions approximately 25,000 Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, most of whom had fled mainland China.

### Handicapped Refugees

On an experimental basis, the Government initiated plans in 1962 for the movement to Canada of a number of handicapped refugees who were capable of obtaining employment. It was expected that careful advance preparation could enable these individuals and their families to establish themselves successfully without becoming a burden to their sponsors or without the need for extensive public assistance. A number of cases are at present under consideration, and it is hoped that some families will soon enter Canada.



In 1963, Canada's general refugee programme will be continued. Unsponsored refugees from Europe will be admitted without numerical limitation and without applying the usual immigration standards of occupation and education. The refugee private-sponsorship programme will also be continued.

It is hoped that the experimental movement of handicapped but employable refugees under government auspices will progress satisfactorily in 1963. Naturally, although no figure has been set, the number of such cases accepted will depend on the ability of immigration settlement officers in Canada to find suitable employment and establishment opportunities. It should also be noted that approval has been granted for the admission to Canada, on the same basis as in 1962, of another 50 families of stateless persons from the Middle East.

These are some of the refugee-resettlement programmes which the Government intends to carry out in 1963. Other projects are under consideration.

It should be emphasized that, in addition to Canada's special refugee programmes, in which the normal immigrant-selection standards are greatly relaxed, the new Immigration Regulations permit refugees anywhere in the world to apply for admission to Canada as ordinary immigrants subject to the usual standards of selection....

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/5

### A CONSTRUCTIVE UN SESSION

Statement by Mr. Heath Macquarrie, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the House of Commons on January 24, 1963.

...I have had the honour of representing Canada at four General Assemblies of the United Nations. This past session, just concluded, struck me as one of the most constructive of these important international gatherings. It seemed that there was a diminution of tension, and lessening of power politics which sometimes makes difficult the day-to-day progress which is such an important part of an organization which endeavours to make progress on so many fronts.

I believe that in Canada the strain of cynicism is disappearing. We have had people, publicists and others, who believed the United Nations was more a talk shop, that nothing was accomplished, that there was a great disparity in power among the members, that there was not sufficient realism in its construction. I believe the accomplishments of the United Nations in recent years, and they have been enumerated by preceding speakers, have convinced Canadians and others that this great body is in truth the hope of the world as the idealists always said it was. The past session has seen the coming to fruition of a number of projects which had seemed to be discouraging.

One thing which caused great rejoicing, I think, was the confirmation of the Secretary-General in his office. This great Asian statesman has done a splendid job in one of the most sensitive and difficult posts which the world could convey upon any mortal man. Canada said, from the very beginning, that we were strongly in favour of U Thant's confirmation as Secretary-General. The Minister has referred to the success of the Congo operation and Canada's role in the Advisory Committee of the United Nations.

### An Unforgettable Moment

I was in the United Nations at the time the confrontation between Mr. Zorin and Mr. Stevenson, an unforgettable moment of great tension. As has been pointed out, and something which should



not be forgotten, the spokesmen for these great super-powers, with their tremendous power in comparison to the other members of the United Nations, took that dispute to the very forum of world opinion, the Security Council. As they faced one another, every seat in the Security Council chamber was filled with members from the General Assembly. It was an unforgettable moment. The role of the Acting Secretary-General, as he then was, was highly creditable and crowned with much success.

We are pleased too, that, under the inspiration of former President Mongi Slim, the United Nations is moving forward in the direction of improving its procedures and manner of work. A very impressive committee has been set up for which I think lovers of the United Nations may entertain certain high hopes.

The United Nations, which began with some 50 members, has now 110. The area of the world unrepresented in the UN is shrinking daily. Its complexion is changing. Membership of the committees and other bodies is altering and it is necessary in the interests of efficiency to have some improvements in techniques. Indeed it is almost necessary to have an extension to the very physical facilities. These, which once seemed to be so ample, now often appear to be overcrowded.

### A Humbling Experience

...We, in the context of this debate, are of course interested in the performance of the Canadian Delegation at the United Nations. I was very proud of the way the Canadian Delegation performed. There is something extremely humbling to be at an international organization and note on every hand the high respect in which Canadians are held. I think it is humbling because it is quite a challenge to measure up to the tremendous responsibilities constantly put upon Canadians, especially in the UN context. We are a charter member of the UN. I suppose, if one looked back over the whole history of resolutions, Canadians have been co-sponsors or sponsors of more resolutions than any other country.

The Canadian point of view is constantly sought. We have served on all sorts of peace-making missions and I think it could be said that this very day Canadian personnel are performing peace-keeping operations all over the world. It is something which should cause us pride. At the same time it should cause us some humility because it is a heavy challenge....

The World Food Programme became fully operational on January 1 of this year. As is known, Canada has taken an active part in the establishment and development of this Programme, beginning with the Prime Minister's proposal to the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960.





This Programme will provide assistance by means of foodstuffs in three major fields. It will meet emergency food needs and emergencies arising from chronic malnutrition. It will give assistance in pre-school areas and implement pilot projects, using food as an aid to economic and social development.

#### Canada and the WFP

Since the idea for a World Food Programme was launched, events have moved swiftly. In the last few months a pledging conference has been held at which approximately \$88 million in commodities, cash and services were pledged. Canada's pledge totalled \$5 million in commodities and cash. An Intergovernmental Committee, of which Canada is a member, has now been established and has prepared a work programme. This, I may say, putting it very simply, is one of the concrete moves in the direction of a better world.

Canada also played a major role in the very serious question of radiation. We would be ill-advised to become so sophisticated that we lost our concern and indeed our fear of what is happening to the atmosphere. Canada moved, and was supported magnificently by the other members of the General Assembly, to set up a world organization for the dissemination of information on the harmful effects of radiation and to galvanize world opinion regarding those harmful effects.

...Canada's initiative in the Second Committee dealing with international economic relations, and in the conference on world trade development, was a most impressive and most successful one, and great credit is due to Senator Blois, who was our representative there, a worthy Maritimer who naturally did a most excellent job. There were many, many days when differences were quite acute as to when the conference should be held, how it would be held and who should be involved, but these serious differences have been ironed out and it is now set that the meeting will be held not later than 1964.

The Canadian hope is that, after careful preparation, the conference will achieve positive proposals for the expansion of trade, particularly by the developing countries, and, on December 20, Canada was elected a member of the Preparatory Committee, which will begin its meetings in January. Once again, this country, which some would have us believe is ill regarded in the international community, was chosen to take part in the planning of this important job.

#### International Court on UN Finances

Another problem which has been facing the United Nations for some time and is becoming increasingly acute is the very mundane problem of finances and how to keep the organization solvent. In this field, through the Fifth Committee, the Canadian Delegation was extremely active and I am glad to say extremely successful.



We called for an appeal to the International Court in respect to the question of members' obligations regarding the very costly peace-keeping operations in which the United Nations is now engaged. Canadian acceptance of the Court's decision was naturally forthcoming, and, through our efforts in the Fifth Committee, steps have been taken which look very hopeful in respect to establishing a sound basis for the financial operations of the United Nations. In connection therewith, there comes into our minds what looks to be the happy solution of the vexatious Congo problem.

The United Nations General Assembly has seven committees operating for a period of three months and so ... it would be quite a simple thing for one to carry on for a long time discussing briefly but a very few of these important avenues of goodwill and important overtures to a better and more peaceful world....

It is recalled that a strong statement, which drew tremendous attention not only in Canada but elsewhere, was made by the Prime Minister in September 1960, and I would point out it was made in the presence of Mr. Khrushchov himself. Since that time, the present Government has dealt with that very important problem with consistency and persistency and has spoken out very strongly on a subject which should have been spoken on with greater strength long, long ago. It is just a little bit difficult to take when one hears the Soviet Union constantly denounce the United Kingdom and France on their colonial records; but last year, before the General Assembly, Canada suggested that the light of public opinion be thrown on the dark areas of tyranny within the Soviet Union. That was a strong statement of which Canadians may be very proud....

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/7

### CANADA INVESTS IN PHYSICAL FITNESS

Partial text of an address by Mr. J. Waldo Monteith, Minister of National Health and Welfare, on March 16, 1963, to the National Intercollegiate Hockey Playoffs Dinner, Kingston, Ontario.

...My presence here is a tribute to the Federal Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme, which I have had the very great satisfaction of introducing in Parliament and of administering since its inception. I would like to speak to you about this Programme tonight.

Perhaps I might first stress the title of the legislation, "An Act to Encourage Fitness and Amateur Sport". You will note the word "Encourage". Our purpose is simply to assist setting up the shots so that the people of Canada themselves may score the goals.

The second thing I would like to note is the position of the word "Fitness". It is not by accident that it comes first in the title of the Act; it has been first in our thinking. Unfortunately, in most of the publicity given the Programme, the order seems to have been reversed.

Assistance to sport, and especially to national and international competition, receives the publicity. Let none of us ever forget that the peaks cannot be reached without a broad base provided by participation right across the country.

We do not have the broad population base of the U.S. and Russia and some other nations, but we can produce our share of potential champions if our activities are wide enough to find and encourage them....

But at the same time we must remember that a national or international championship is not the only goal. Our Programme must encourage healthy, happy active living in all age groups of the population. Somehow we must break through the barriers presented by the increasingly easy way of western life, and what Kingsley Amis so aptly referred to in his novel Lucky Jim as our "prefabricated amusements".



## Programme Balance

I will spare you a sermon on this subject. But you will understand why, with these problems in mind, we have aimed for balance in our Programme. We give games their due, but what might be called the non-competitive sports are also receiving a fair share of our attention.

Canoeing, camping, hiking, sailing, hostelling and the like are all a part of our way of life. We must learn to use and to conserve our heritage of forest, lake and mountain and to use it well, within the uses that nature intended, as well as mastering man-made games.

Our Fitness and Amateur Sport Act came into effect as recently as January 1962. In co-operation with the provinces, we are still working our way toward full use of the maximum annual allocation of \$5 million provided under the Act, with \$2 million earmarked for the coming fiscal year.

Through the National Advisory Council appointed under the Act, I receive the best possible advice on all the aspects of the many fields covered by the Programme. Included among these ladies and gentlemen are directors of schools of physical education, officials of national and international sports bodies, sportswriters, and persons who have been active in various community projects.

The Council's discussions can be heated on occasion, as you might imagine, but its recommendations have been sound and well considered. Its work is supported by committees involving the provinces, dealing with such matters as research development and scholarships and bursaries.

Within this framework, we have developed three main channels in our Programme -- grants directly from Ottawa, grants to the provinces, and services provided directly by my Department.

## Direct Grants

Under the first heading, we have already helped many national organizations to strengthen and extend their services. Grants to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association and the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union come within this category. We have also helped to make possible such projects as the Canadian National Exhibition's Fitness Festival last September, and others that brought the cause of fitness to the fore.

Grants are made to the Canadian Olympic Association to assist Canadian participation in the Olympic, British Empire and Commonwealth, and Pan-American Games. Also, national organizations such as the Canadian Amateur Ski Association, the Canadian Figure Skating Association, the Canadian Wheelmen and many other groups have received assistance to send athletes abroad and organize competitions at home.

The Federal Government is increasing the emphasis on research. Grants for this purpose, to universities and professional organizations, are designed to increase our knowledge of what constitutes fitness for many





different activities, and how it can be attained most effectively. The work supported in this field will be of great interest to those of you who are studying the sciences, embracing as it does a wide variety of work in the biological and physical sciences. I was myself extremely surprised to find that one of our closest advisers on research is also employed on space research and considers his work on both programmes to be closely related.

#### Grants to Provinces

One half of all funds provided under the Act are made available to the provinces, on a project and matching basis, for the development of fitness and amateur sport activities at the provincial and local levels. Projects here have covered a wide range, indicating the very real need that is felt to assist expansion of opportunities for all sectors of the population to indulge in active recreational pursuits.

Such pursuits are by no means as easy for most people to follow as they were before the tremendous growth of our cities, and this fact presents challenges also to the town planner if our potentialities for recreation are to be fully realized. I am optimistic about the job we can do, as I think a real fear has developed across the country of the dangers inherent in a way of life completely lacking in real physical activity.

#### Direct Services

I come now to the third major sector of the Programme, the direct services provided through the Department of National Health and Welfare. These are very considerable indeed. As well as providing guidance in less direct forms, my Department takes an active role in the preparation of informational material such as films, manuals of instruction and other instructional aids of a technical nature.

In addition to the preparation of films on figure-skating and other subjects, we have been involved in such projects as preparation of a manual on how to construct swimming pools and a track-and-field reference manual. We also hope to develop even closer contacts with the construction of recreational and sports facilities through the Municipal Winter Works Programme. Federal assistance of \$5.5 million was given to this type of construction through the Department of Labour last year.

There are other projects of importance which I will only touch on here. In co-operation with a number of other Federal Departments, we are assisting the Calgary Olympic Development Association in its plans to obtain the 1968 Winter Olympic Games for Banff. We are also helping the City of Winnipeg in its application for the 1967 Pan-American Games.

#### Effect of Programme

I do not think it is too much to say that the Fitness and Amateur Sport Programme has had a large part to play in bringing Canada the kind of international sports recognition that makes the holding of such Games a possibility. If we are successful in obtaining the 1968 Winter Olympics and



and the 1967 Pan-American Games, it will be a very great achievement indeed, and these two events together with the Montreal World Fair will be effective ornaments of Canada's centennial celebration in 1967.

These are some of the many different aspects of the Programme I should like to describe to you in detail if time permitted. However, I shall content myself by concluding with a word on our work in two areas in which you have a special interest, aid to universities and to university training, and aid to hockey. As many of you know, the Federal Government made an \$18,000 grant early this year to the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union, to assist in meeting the costs of developing and promoting international sport at the national level. This grant was designed in part to encourage such heartening activities as have taken place here today....

Without forgetting other sectors of the community...we must devote specialized attention, through the universities, towards assisting in the training of the men and women studying or employed in physical education and recreational activities, who must provide the technical leadership for an expanding Programme.

Federal aid is being given through post-graduate scholarships and bursaries to increase the numbers of professionally trained people in Canada. These awards, which can be used in or outside Canada, assist the whole range of post-graduate study, from work at the master's level up to post-doctoral research.

#### Kinds of Award

Three types of award are available under the Act. These include post-graduate scholarships designed to assist persons already holding a bachelor's degree in physical education to proceed to the master's or doctoral level. Senior research fellowships are designed to help senior professional workers increase their qualifications....

#### Help for Hockey

This great sport has naturally occupied a prominent place in our thinking.... One of our principal problems is how we can give the most effective aid to a sport which, financially, is in a relatively good position, but which nevertheless deserves, all the support it can be given for development.

A Committee of the National Advisory Council has been working with the Executive of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association to devise ways in which federal help can be used most effectively. One of the first results of this collaboration is the \$50,000 grant made to the Association to assist in establishing national hockey leadership courses at five universities, selected to cover all regions of Canada, with a view to improving hockey coaching and management. This is, we hope, the beginning of a long and useful collaboration that will be of continuing help to hockey....







## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

No. 63/8

### A STEP NEARER AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

An Address by Prime Minister L.B. Pearson at the Opening of the NATO Ministerial Meeting in Ottawa on May 22, 1963.

... It is 12 years since the North Atlantic Treaty Council last convened in these Parliament Buildings of Canada.

At that time the Alliance faced many and grave problems. It had yet to demonstrate its real capacity to fulfil even its military role. But the promise of immense collective strength in the partnership of European and North American nations was there to be realized. There were no obstacles then, as there are none now, which the resources of the North Atlantic Treaty countries could not surmount, if sustained by hope, determination and faith.

We are here as men of peace. But we are here also to declare our full and forthright support of what is in great measure a military alliance. There is nothing strange or contradictory in this. For in the very first line of the treaty that welds us to a common purpose, we affirm our "faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments".

It is in that spirit that I welcome this session of the Ministerial Council to Canada, whose two mother countries are both members of NATO.

The dual nature of Canada's cultural heritage and the intimacy of the links which bind us so warmly to Great Britain and to France are elements in our national make-up which we cherish. Each of our cultural streams has benefited from and been enriched by the presence of the other flowing so closely by its side. From the ebb and flow of European history both the Anglo-Saxon and the French peoples have benefited. It should not be difficult, therefore, to appreciate how much Canadians value the dual character of their national personality.

But our country - to adapt a current expression - is multilateral as well as bilateral in character. Our citizens, whose family trees have roots in France and the United Kingdom, have been joined by many others with family ties in one or





another of all our North Atlantic partners - and, of course, in many other lands too. These others have come to join their strength to ours in the creation of a free society in which all Canadians can live and work together. In fact, as in aspiration, we in Canada have given credibility to the central conception of our Atlantic Alliance; a belief in word and in deed in the interdependence of co-operating peoples.

Today it is easy and understandable to point with anxiety to centrifugal tendencies in NATO. But, in spite of this and other difficulties, our defensive Alliance has succeeded in deterring aggression and promoting security. But to survive - this has been said so many times - NATO must comprehend much more than military defence, central as that undoubtedly is to our joint effort. It must include the closest possible unity of purpose in the solution of political, economic and social problems of concern to us all. If it does not, NATO will weaken and eventually disappear.

NATO must also press ahead with efforts through co-operative action to raise the levels of economic and social well-being, not only of the Treaty countries alone but also of the countries in less fortunate areas in the world.

It must give the lead in working toward the time when all men will recognize in their hearts and be guided in their actions by the noble principles of the United Nations Charter.

The wealth of promise now open for all mankind will never be realized unless nations come to accept the fact of their interdependence and act on that fact.

The degree and complexity of this interdependence is a distinctive characteristic of our era. It could have no similar meaning for the relatively uncomplicated conditions of former times. The science and technology of a few years have brought the multiple interests of each nation into a maze of interlocking contacts with those of other nations. This is a central and compelling factor of our time.

Today the world has the means of adapting itself to this essential factor by international co-operative effort. It is the only means that makes sense, but that does not prevent us from too often following the older techniques of exclusive national action.

Since we last met in Canada in 1951, new institutions have been developed within the framework of our Organization. In a new complex of working bodies, many important facets of our separate national activities have come to be explored on a continuing collective basis. Meanwhile, too, a devoted and talented international staff has been built up under a distinguished Secretary-General and performs invaluable service in the study of cultural, scientific, economic, military and political matters.





In all our policies and in all our planning we must keep very much in mind the grim reality of the universal destruction of nuclear war. Therefore, our decision in the military field for the prevention of war through adequate deterrence must be coupled along with the removal of the fears of the political causes that today make such armed deterrence necessary.

I acknowledge with gratitude what has been done in both these fields but I register no cause for complacency. The threat we set out to meet when NATO was born, and the wider world purposes we have agreed to serve, have taken a formidable subtlety and difficulty since our early days. Both the peril and the promise of 1949 remain. We have kept the one in check but without realizing the other as much as we would like.

I do not and you do not believe in miracles. Fundamental changes in the angry disbeliefs and the festering animosities of the cold war will not take place overnight, or without stubborn and unremitting perseverance on our part. It is folly to expect the awful dangers of the nuclear age to go away while we merely sit back, answer jet with superjet, missile with anti-missile, charge with countercharge. Rather, in dealing with the Communist world, the NATO partners must keep on trying to solve political problems, one by one, stage by stage, if not now on the basis of confidence and co-operation, at least on that of mutual toleration based on a common interest in survival.

We must direct the best of our talents towards uncovering, exploiting and building upon every conceivable point of common interest between East and West. There is no alternative to utilizing all the genius of our statecraft to wed the power of our collective strength to reasoned and forward-looking policies, and thus to give our diplomacy its best chance of reducing tensions and fostering international understanding.

We must of course maintain the strength, the power, required to deter any fatal adventures by those who might otherwise misjudge our resolve to seek peace and preserve freedom.

Nevertheless, to think that we can guarantee this peace by collective action, even collective action based on power alone, is a delusion. To think that we can protect ourselves by individual action based on national power alone, is an absurdity. In 1961, President Kennedy, on a visit to Canada, spoke with eloquence of the nakedness, in today's world, of a single country seeking to stand alone. "It is clear", he said, "that no free nation can stand alone to meet the relentless threat of those who make themselves our adversaries." I am sure all agree completely with that. In 1963, "Each nation for itself and God for us all", is not only silly; it could be suicidal. So the Atlantic nations must come together, in one Atlantic Community. The West cannot afford two such Communities, a European one and a North American one, each controlling its own policies and each perhaps moving away from the other as a common menace recedes.



One of the most hopeful and most exciting developments of the postwar period has been the coming together of European nations; a process not yet completed. As a result of this, a united Europe should play, and can play if it desires to do so, an equal part with North America in the direction and development of the Atlantic Alliance.

It would, however, be a sad day for peace and security if a united Europe or a United States were to play a separate role. Therefore we must examine very closely into the relationships that bind us together across the Atlantic. Changes that have been wrought since our last meeting in Ottawa point to the need for some redefinition of Atlantic relations. The public discussion that is taking place on this subject is a reflection of the healthy nature of the free societies which support our Alliance.

On the military defence side, it would certainly seem that the moment for some recasting of NATO policy, including nuclear policy, has arrived. In this recasting, nuclear-arms policy and conventional-arms policy should be carefully studied together as inseparable elements in any sound strategic design. It is also true that, despite the impressive advances of the past few years, the twin problem of political decision-making and of political consultation, so essential in an era of apocalyptic weapons, has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. The proposals of the U.S.A. now before the Council offer a framework in which these problems can be tackled.

Equally it would repay us to see what changes are needed to improve our co-operation in the economic field. In the twentieth century, perhaps more than ever before, harmonization of economic policies is indispensable for political and defence collaboration.

We are not going to settle all of these issues in this short meeting. Nevertheless, we will make satisfactory progress and I hope that in that progress we will be guided by a precept enunciated by a well-known American writer, Mr. Henry Kissinger:

"The test of leadership is not tomorrow's editorial,  
but what history will say of us five years from now."

I believe that five years from now history will say that this Council meeting marked one more good step in the evolution of the Atlantic coalition, for the security of its members and for peace in the world....

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

JUN 7

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

No. 63/9

## A MILESTONE IN ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

A Statement to the House of Commons on May 27, 1963, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin.

... I now wish to make a report on the Ministerial Meeting of NATO which was held in Ottawa last week. The Minister of National Defence and I had the responsibility of representing the Government of Canada at that meeting. Because of the importance of the subject matter, and in accordance with the convention which attends the delivery of a statement of this importance by a Minister of the Crown, I propose to follow closely what I have prepared for this particular occasion...

The Minister of National Defence and I were afforded an opportunity to meet our opposite numbers both during and before the Ministerial Meeting itself. I had valuable talks in my office in the four days preceding the meeting with Secretary of State Rusk, Foreign Minister Lord Home, and with the Foreign Ministers of France, M. Couve de Murville, and of Germany, Mr. Schroeder - that is, with the leading members and representatives at this meeting of those countries with which we have the most intimate relations. Of course I should add, so that I would not in any way discriminate, that I was privileged to have important and useful talks with the Foreign Ministers of Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Turkey, Greece and Denmark. We were able to review not only matters which would be brought before the meeting, but also questions of bilateral concern. In ordinary circumstances it might have taken many months to establish direct personal contact with these foreign ministers or, in the case of the Minister of National Defence, with ministers of national defence from the 14 countries which attended the Ministerial Meeting along with Canada....

This meeting was timely in another sense. It gave the Government an opportunity to remove the doubts which continued to linger in the minds of our allies concerning the position of Canada with regard to the commitments undertaken on behalf of our armed forces... To that end, the Minister of National Defence took the opportunity on the first day of the conference to set the record straight by confirming to the Council in ministerial session the



information which had already been given to Parliament two days before by the Prime Minister, namely that negotiations had been resumed with the United States relating to defensive nuclear weapons systems which had been the subject of previous discussions with the United States.

I want to make perfectly clear that Canada has undertaken no new commitments at the meeting just concluded. It is, however, the policy of this Government to take the steps needed to make it possible for the Canadian forces to discharge the role accepted for them... This was as long ago as 1959. That role would not disappear if Canada failed to carry it out; all that would happen would be that some other member or members of the Alliance would have to shoulder the obligation in our place.

The kind of forces Canada agreed to contribute were to meet part of an established NATO military requirement, and I am sure that no Hon. Member of this House would wish Canada to be placed in the position where it would be foisting upon others a task voluntarily assumed by Canada ... as part of the collective defence effort of the Alliance. I stress the word "voluntarily" because the military contributions to meet agreed force requirements were assumed as a result of bilateral discussions between the NATO military authorities and individual member states, and not all of them saw fit to undertake a nuclear role. I will have more to say a little later in connection with this aspect of the NATO meeting.

... The Spring Ministerial Meeting of the NATO Council is normally attended by foreign ministers to review international developments and appraise the state of the Alliance. Defence ministers also participated at this time because there were on the agenda items affecting the organization of the deterrent forces at the disposal of the Alliance....

The decisions on defence matters taken at the meeting have attracted a great deal of public notice, virtually to the exclusion of all else. I do not wish to underrate the significance of those decisions, for they represented a further step in the integration of elements of the deterrent forces which should go some distance toward improving their co-ordination and control. But I would also draw the attention of Hon. Members to the fact that the emphasis in the communiqué was on peace. The communiqué opened and closed on that note. This is as it should be, for ours is a defensive Alliance, the military activities of which are maintained solely in the interests of the integrity of the member states and therefore of the peace of the world. The whole underlying concept of NATO is the prevention of war, and there is full realization within the Alliance that peace cannot be ensured by military power alone. So the Council has reasserted its desire to seek equitable solutions by negotiation, and it is hoped that the Communist world will come to see that they too have no less an interest in such settlements.

Some of the areas of continuing concern -- Berlin, Cuba and Laos -- are named in the communiqué and were indeed thoroughly discussed in the private sessions of the Council. I reported to





the Council on the unsatisfactory situation in Laos from the viewpoint of one of the members of the three-nation International Supervisory Commission. I expressed our determination to continue to press for greater freedom of action and movement for the Commission, and I am happy to know that the three members of the Commission have joined together in their most recent report.

Too often in the past the Council has met in the shadow of crisis. Last December it met in the immediate aftermath of Cuba. The preceding year it was the wall in Berlin. This year we were faced with no immediate threat of armed aggression affecting the treaty area directly, and this fact was noted in our review of the international situation. On the other hand, the absence of war or the threat of war is a long way from the kind of peace we seek, and we were also forced to recognize that long-standing issues such as were named in the communiqué remain unresolved and are a continuing source of grave concern. The causes of the present lull well may lie within the Sino-Soviet bloc itself, although no one can predict how long this state of immobility in East-West relations may continue.

There was complete agreement upon the importance of maintaining continuous contact with the Soviet Union in an effort to resolve issues which might lead to war and ensure, at the very least, that neither side should misunderstand the intentions of the other.

In this connection, the decision in principle which has been reached at Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union to establish direct communication between Washington and Moscow was welcomed by the Canadian delegation as one which should help to reduce the risk of war by miscalculation.

That agreement was one of the useful byproducts of the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference now meeting in Geneva. As I had occasion to say in one of my interventions before the Council, the outlook at the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the test-ban talks is so far from encouraging that it would be unrealistic to slacken our defence efforts. But I noted at the same time that the implications in both military and financial terms of an unrestricted arms race are such that we simply could not relax our efforts to negotiate a balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces provided we can secure the proper safeguards. To abandon this search would be a counsel of despair, although I have no illusions about either the ease or the speed with which results may be achieved.

There was unanimous support for the continuation of efforts at Geneva to bring about general and complete disarmament by stages under effective international control and international safeguards. Even though real progress in the scaling-down of arms may be some distance away (and I believe this is the case), there are related areas, such as the communications link, which can substantially reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation and thereby contribute to the maintenance of peace and security. Similarly, on





the subject of the nuclear-test ban, I welcomed on behalf of the Canadian delegation and the Government of Canada the recent Anglo-American approach in Moscow in an attempt to break the current deadlock. I made clear the Canadian view that there must be unremitting effort to bridge the narrow gap between East and West on this issue. Verification is, as it has so often been, the root of the trouble.

In our appraisal at the Council meeting of the state of the Alliance, a good deal of attention was paid to the improvement and intensification of timely consultation on political developments. This is a subject on which Members of this Government have had a good deal of experience, in that the Prime Minister was intimately associated in 1955 with the specially-appointed group which originally set up the procedures and basic rules which have been followed in the Alliance ever since. Since taking over my responsibilities, I have found that impressive strides have been made in this field in the intervening years, but, in that same period there has been a corresponding growth in the scope and complexity of the problems facing the members of the Alliance, which demands an even more intensive effort in this direction. I took the occasion, in reviewing this question as seen from the Canadian viewpoint, to make clear that any shortcomings there may have been on the Canadian side would be removed.

I should like to make clear to the House, as I did to our NATO colleagues, that the Canadian Government looks upon its contribution to NATO, and indeed regards the military role of the Alliance itself, as part of a broad international network of peace-keeping activities. As the Prime Minister indicated in his remarks at the opening ceremony, the interdependence of all nations is a distinctive characteristic of our era. It has come to be recognized that a local war, whether in Indochina or Africa, if not contained, can have as grave consequences as any outbreak of hostilities in the more familiar trouble spots of direct concern to NATO. Moreover, participation in many of these peace-keeping responsibilities outside the NATO area is, by tacit concern, denied to the major powers, since one of the primary objects is to prevent fighting without inviting the even greater danger of a great-power confrontation. For this reason, it has been and continues to be Canadian policy to assume international peace-keeping obligations both inside the United Nations, as in Gaza or the Congo, and outside, as in the Indochina Commissions. Through these activities we have a constant reminder that the NATO Alliance has to be seen in a broad world perspective.

To place NATO in global context in this way is not, however, in any way to deny that the central challenge to today's world is between the closed totalitarian regimes of the Communist bloc and the free societies of the West, and that NATO is the instrument on which we all rely to meet that challenge. One of the principal subjects with which we were concerned at this meeting was the possible nature of that challenge, and to ensure that NATO forces should be so equipped as to be able to offer a range of responses appropriate to any aggression affecting the treaty area. In this





connection two decisions of importance to Canada and the Alliance were taken, both of which were noted in the communiqué.

The first was concerned with the ability of the Alliance to deal with the obvious threat posed by the Soviet Union's mounting arsenal of nuclear weapons. Paragraph 8 of the communiqué described decisions taken by the Council to regroup and organize certain elements of the nuclear deterrent forces under the command of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe. These forces will henceforth include the whole of the United Kingdom V-bomber force and three United States "Polaris" submarines. This formidable new strength to be at the disposal of SACEUR will be added to certain tactical nuclear forces already in being or programmed and already assigned to him. This decision was of direct relevance to Canadian forces in Europe for, by indicating our willingness to arm the Canadian air division with the weapons which will enable it to discharge the strike role to which it was committed ..., the way has been opened to permit Canada to play its part in the new arrangements.

Let me make it perfectly clear this decision in no way makes Canada a member of the "nuclear club" in the sense of owning or manufacturing nuclear warheads. Indeed, the decisions taken at this meeting affecting the Organization of the Alliance's existing nuclear forces are entirely consistent with resolutions unanimously adopted by the United Nations to avoid the further spread of nuclear weapons under independent national control. Custody of the nuclear armament of all the forces involved, with the exception of the United Kingdom bombers, will remain as before with the United States. I also want to make it clear that there is no new assignment involved for Canadian forces, as they were already assigned ... to SACEUR's command. These arrangements were welcomed by the Canadian delegation as steps which, through the greater sharing of knowledge and responsibility for nuclear defence, will help to knit the Alliance together and, in the words of the communiqué, "improve co-ordination and control of its nuclear deterrent forces"....

The steps I mentioned earlier should be seen as part of the democratization of the Alliance with respect to the exercise of its heavy responsibilities in the nuclear field.

The second decision of importance is recorded in Paragraph 9 of the communiqué, where the need to achieve a satisfactory balance between nuclear and conventional forces was recognized. To this end, the Permanent Council has been instructed to undertake, with the advice of the NATO military authorities, a comprehensive review of the interrelated questions of strategy, force requirements and the resources available to meet them. I have already mentioned that NATO must be able to offer a range of responses to any challenge, and this means that, if that challenge is conventional, then the conventional means must be available to meet it without premature recourse to nuclear weapons. At the same time the nuclear strength must be there to deter any possibility of a direct challenge with nuclear weapons.





The cost of maintaining the correct balance must be shared equitably amongst the members of the Alliance and must be geared to the capabilities of each, having regard to its resources and its other military obligations. For example, Canada has heavy responsibilities in North American defence, in NATO and in the United Nations and in other peace-keeping activities. Our contribution too must take into account these responsibilities and the resources we have to meet them, and our planning must be projected as far as possible into the future if we are to make the most useful contribution to world peace in all these fields.

... The Prime Minister has announced in the House, as the Minister of National Defence did in the Council, the Government's intention to conduct a national review of defence policy and to set up without delay a Parliamentary Committee as part of that process, and a motion to that end will shortly be introduced. Our national review will thus go forward in parallel with the NATO review, a fact which will be helpful in considering the full range of our defence obligations. The outcome of these two reviews should enable the Government to form considered judgments on the extent to which the present allocation of the Canadian defence effort should be continued or adjusted.

There has been a good deal of public speculation ... as to why there was no mention in the communiqué of another project in the nuclear field which is known to have been under active consideration in the Alliance. I refer to the so-called multilateral force and, in particular, that aspect of it which would consist of a mixed-manned fleet of "Polaris"-carrying vessels. This question was not on the agenda because the special mission headed by United States Ambassador Livingston Merchant has not yet completed its visits to all the capitals of the Alliance. I wish to say no more at this stage than that the Canadian Government hopes to receive Ambassador Merchant's group and himself in Ottawa some time during the first week in June in order to inform itself better of all the ramifications of this proposal.

By any reasonable test ... the Ottawa meeting was one of the most successful the Alliance has had....

It is easy, and, I regret to say, fashionable to emphasize the centrifugal tendencies in NATO, tendencies which are bound to manifest themselves in any organization of free and sovereign states whose co-operation has so succeeded as to bring a measure of relief from external pressures. It is precisely because NATO has succeeded in deterring aggression and promoting the security of its members that they can afford to indulge in the luxury of some dissent, precisely inherent in the fact that NATO is made up of freedom-loving states.

This meeting of the Council had before it certain matters for decision designed to reinforce the enduring character of the partnership between Western Europe and North America. It took





decisions unanimously and in a spirit of harmony. It is wrong to say NATO is in a state of disarray. The assembled ministers were responding in a tangible way to the keynote address of one who has from the beginning lent inspiration to the Alliance. I refer to the Prime Minister of Canada. The wise counsel he gave in opening the meeting, his assessment of NATO's achievements, his warning of the perils that lie ahead and his plea for unity created the climate for a meeting that will be recorded, I believe, in the history of the Alliance as another milestone in Atlantic partnership....

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA

NO. 63/10

## THE GREATEST VISION IN MANKIND'S HISTORY

A speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Annual Awards Dinner of the Overseas Press Club of America, in New York, on May 28, 1963

I am very pleased and honoured to have this opportunity of addressing the Annual Awards Dinner of the Overseas Press Club of America. Among your ranks are to be found some of the foremost journalists of the world; men and women who have made substantial contributions to the reporting and analysis of international problems. Those of us who are daily engaged with these problems share with you very heavy responsibilities in this world of rapid change and recurring risk.

This is the third public speech which I have made since taking office. I intend making a complete statement on Canadian foreign policy to the House of Commons at the earliest possible opportunity. You will appreciate, I am sure, that in keeping with Canadian Parliamentary traditions, I must make any new policy statements before Parliament.

The new Government assumed office in Canada just a little over a month ago. It has been a busy and an eventful month. We have been engaged in a wide-ranging review of Canadian policies in all fields, in surveying and assessing both problems and opportunities and in preparing our legislative programme, a portion of which has already been placed before Parliament.

Our primary aim in these first weeks has been to re-establish confidence in Canada, confidence among Canadians about the great promise which the future holds, and confidence among our allies of our determination to make our utmost effort to work for solutions of our mutual problems and for the relief of tensions in the world.

The Prime Minister has already undertaken highly successful visits to London and Hyannis Port. These meetings signified the Government's intention to reaffirm our historic ties with Britain and the Commonwealth and also with our closest





neighbour, the United States. Both visits can, I think, be judged outstanding successes. Indeed, I look upon your invitation to me to speak here this evening as evidence of renewed confidence and interest this side of the border in Canadian affairs.

### Canada-U.S. Relations

Few aspects of Canadian external policy are more important today than our relations with the United States. None has been the target of more misunderstanding recently, and none has in fact been the cause of so much concern to thoughtful Canadians. The Canadian Government is well aware of the complexity and the difficulties which face us in problems of defence questions, trade and balance-of-payment matters, the Columbia River Treaty and many others. It is to be expected that our two countries would have differing interests in some of these matters. The differences in our foreign policies are natural and healthy. The task of the two governments is not to permit these differences to divide us, but rather to work together in harmony and in trust to seek equitable solutions.

The recent meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Pearson in Hyannis Port served as a dramatic re-affirmation of the mutual trust and respect which exists between our two nations. The whole atmosphere of the meeting and the communiqué which followed it showed the determination of the heads of both governments to re-establish our historic relationship. I am quite certain that the meeting in Hyannis Port will take its place with other significant events, such as the meeting at Ogdensburg between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King in August 1940, as a historic landmark in Canadian-American relations.

As you know, the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council was held in Ottawa last week. I was particularly pleased that the meeting was held in Canada this year because of the early and very valuable opportunity it provided for me personally to meet and to hold wide-ranging discussions with the 14 foreign ministers of the alliance.

I am anticipating an early visit to Washington to continue discussions with Secretary Dean Rusk, with whom I had some most rewarding talks during the NATO meetings.

### Review of NATO

NATO was born 15 years ago, when the intransigence of the Soviet Union had rendered the Security Council increasingly inoperative. NATO is a defensive alliance. It seeks to strengthen Western security and ultimately the cause of peace. Indeed, the very first line of the treaty affirms "our faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments."



So far, through our combined efforts, NATO has been successful in preventing acts of aggression against us. NATO must continue to be militarily strong so that our efforts may be equally successful in the future. But NATO is more than a military alliance, central as that undoubtedly is to our joint effort. Canadians believe that NATO is a stage in the evolution of a true Atlantic coalition between like-minded states who uphold the same basic ideals and values about human rights and dignity.

Throughout my private conversations with our distinguished visitors, there ran an underlying awareness that the success of the alliance, in the last analysis, will rest on the ability to achieve a true partnership of the peoples of Western Europe and North America. In other times the key to that partnership rested mainly on British-American understanding, with Canada from time to time making some contributions to such understanding. The gratifying result is the intimacy which now exists between Washington and London. Today, with Europe fully recovered from the devastation of war, the Atlantic Community must rest on broader foundations. Canada, as a North American nation with a cherished heritage and bilingual culture stemming from two great mother countries, may have useful opportunities to exert quiet influence towards complete trans-Atlantic entente.

#### Canada's Military Commitments

This meeting was timely in another sense: it gave the Government an opportunity to remove the doubts which continued to linger in the minds of our allies concerning the position of Canada with regard to the commitments undertaken on behalf of our armed forces by the former Government. To that end, the Minister of National Defence took the opportunity on the first day of the conference to set the record straight by confirming to the Council in ministerial session the information which had already been given to Parliament two days before by the Prime Minister, namely, that negotiations had been resumed with the United States relating to defensive weapons systems which have been the subject of previous discussions with the United States.

The Ottawa meetings not only strengthened the military side of NATO but also strengthened the bonds of co-operation between us as we pursue our common ideals. As Mr. Pearson stated:

"We have a responsibility to the future and to humanity to make sure in the North Atlantic community that our dealings with one another and with the rest of the world are marked by justice, tolerance and charity. If we can discharge that responsibility while at the same time building up energetically our defence we may then also pray that providence in its own good time will bring in a world whose ramparts can be dismantled and where peace will prevail.





"I believe that five years from now history will say that this Council meeting marked one more good step in the evolution of the Atlantic coalition, for the security of its members and for peace in the world."

There can be no lasting security in a world in which great nations threaten each other, and their smaller allies, with nuclear destruction. The achievement of stable security through general disarmament -- balanced and safeguarded -- is the stated goal of members of the NATO alliance, a goal which has been unanimously endorsed by all members of the United Nations. Disappointing as the results of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva have been to date, we must persevere in these complex negotiations. We must persist in our efforts to put an end to the arms race which imperils all mankind.

We must do more. We must strengthen the international capacity for keeping the peace. The notion of international peace-keeping under the United Nations has been firmly incorporated in the programmes for general and complete disarmament. The proposals of both the Soviet Union and the United States envisage the creation of international military forces during the stages leading to a disarmed world. It is obvious, from the bare skeleton of these proposals, that much remains to be done to elaborate and reconcile them before any agreed system of security can be developed. But it has been accepted in principle that progress toward disarmament must be accompanied by the development of effective international machinery for maintaining peace and security.

The Canadian Government is determined to explore and support practical ways of strengthening the peace-keeping methods of the United Nations. We are not deterred by the fact that significant elements in the membership are opposed to the establishment of a stand-by force. We believe that, even in the absence of formal arrangements, there are steps which still can be taken to make the peace-keeping machinery more effective.

#### Importance of Preparation

As a first step, national governments can improve their own arrangements for providing military assistance to the United Nations. Canadian experience in participating in almost every peace-keeping operation under the United Nations flag - in UNEF, in the Middle East and in the Congo force - has taught us the importance of advance preparation within our own defence establishment. Canada maintains an infantry battalion and facilities for movement control and air transport which would enable us to place troops at the disposal of the United Nations on short notice anywhere in the world. We are constantly reviewing ways of improving these stand-by arrangements.



The recent announcement by the defence ministers of the Scandinavian countries about arrangements which they have made for the formation of a composite Nordic contingent has been welcomed by Canada. I believe that this practical approach to the problem of providing prompt assistance to the United Nations, when it is needed for peace-keeping operations, can be extended. I hope that other member states will follow this example of Scandinavian co-operation in the cause of peace.

Another step would be to improve further the Secretariat machinery for co-ordinating and conducting international peace-keeping operations. I suggest that a compact military planning team attached to the Secretariat could periodically review the national availabilities for providing contingents to United Nations military forces. It could also examine operational, logistical and administrative problems with a view to improving United Nations procedures in the conduct of peace-keeping operations.

#### UN Finances

Canadians are deeply concerned about the immediate financial crisis before the United Nations in this Special Assembly. This deficit of approximately \$120 million that now faces the United Nations has resulted mainly from the fact that some member states have failed to pay their assessments to meet peace-keeping costs.

You know, it is staggering and not a little ironic that this world of ours, which spends upwards of \$120 billion a year on armaments, would dare to jeopardize the whole United Nations for a sum of \$120 million. It makes one think that perhaps George Bernard Shaw was correct when he said: "If the other planets are inhabited, they must think of earth as their lunatic asylum."

For several years now the United Nations has tried to sidestep the financial crisis by adopting unsatisfactory ad hoc measures, which not only failed to produce adequate resources but served to delay an assault on the fundamental issue.

Recognizing the risks in allowing this situation to drift, Canada has sought in the past few years to concentrate the attention of the General Assembly on the need to establish sound financial procedures that would place peace-keeping on a firm footing. Ideally, the Assembly should agree on a long-term formula that would serve as a pattern for financing in the future and as a basis for planning, both by the Secretariat and by national governments. Under the prevailing circumstances, however, we recognize that the special session must concentrate on the immediate problem of finding funds for the remainder of this year.





## A Canadian Formula

The Canadian Government is determined to help the United Nations to surmount this present crisis, which endangers the whole peace-keeping future of the United Nations. During this special session, the Canadian Delegation has been seeking support for a formula containing the following elements:

1. The principle of collective financial responsibility should be observed by placing a pre-determined level of peace-keeping expenses under the regular scale of assessment and by ensuring that any excess is shared among the whole membership, even though some assessments may be reduced substantially from the regular scale.
2. Member states with a low capacity to pay should be offered some reduction from their regular assessments for peace-keeping costs above the pre-determined level, the size of such reduction being related to the country's capacity to pay and its demonstrated financial responsibility as regards the payment of arrears.
3. To meet the shortfall resulting from reductions granted, the developed countries, including Canada, should be prepared to make voluntary contributions in addition to their normally assessed shares.

This afternoon I had the privilege of meeting with Secretary-General U Thant. Canadians watch with respect the way in which he is fulfilling his difficult and lonely task with quiet courage and a firm determination to maintain the United Nations as an effective instrument for international co-operation. He shouldered squarely the heavy responsibility for restoring calm and confidence in the United Nations at a time when it was shattered by the sudden and ominous tragedy of the death of his brilliant predecessor.

I shall always remember Dag Hammarskjöld as a close friend, as a tireless fighter for the United Nations and as a great champion of its purposes and principles.

During a period of unprecedented ferment in the public affairs of nations, in a few short turbulent years the United Nations has exhibited a remarkable evolution in international institutions.

In the Canadian view, the difficulties and the limitations imposed during this period of evolution are not reasons for losing faith in the United Nations. They are reasons for striving energetically to make this international system work. They are reasons for seeking practical ways of surmounting or getting around obstacles in the path of the idea of the United Nations.



## Townhall of the World

We know that the General Assembly spends much time in emotional and repetitious debate. But we are not impatient of this. It was a distinguished American, Senator Vandenburg, with whom I had the honour to serve in the first and second Assemblies of the United Nations in London and New York, who referred to the Assembly as "the townhall of the world". The ideals of liberal democracy that come to mind when one thinks of the old New England townhall have been embodied in the structure of the Assembly. Indeed, contrary to some of the critics, the General Assembly has exhibited a notable responsibility in many of its decisions, and in its deliberations has made tangible progress toward the establishment of a world public opinion and an international morality.

A striking fact of our age is its revolutionary character. The same gigantic strides in science and technology that have given man the weapons of terror, the wonders of "Telstar" and the early prospect of landing on the moon, have drawn the peoples of the entire world much closer together. National boundaries become hardly visible from the vantage point of a man orbiting the earth every 86 minutes.

The effect of the communications media upon international affairs has been profound. A new diplomacy of the fast plane trip, the hasty press conference and the formulation of policy amid the glare of lights and publicity has been created. The United Nations itself has become the focal point of world public opinion and the General Assembly a well-lit stage upon which international drama is enacted. From this platform, national representatives speak for and to their own people and also address themselves to public opinion in other countries. This is understandable for, as the British diplomat Lord Strang put it: "In a world where war is everybody's tragedy and everybody's nightmare, diplomacy is everybody's business."

But it is not easy, under these circumstances, to ensure the fundamental requirements of successful diplomacy, shared confidences and quiet negotiation and, in fact, they are easily and often abused.

There are great advantages in quiet diplomacy. In the conference halls, in the corridors and in the lounges of the United Nations, opportunities abound for government representatives to exchange views and to hammer smooth the wrinkles that contribute to international friction. Here we find the facilities for quietly probing and penetrating the veils of suspicion, mistrust and misapprehension which keep the nations divided.

## Toward the Rule of Law

In recent years, much has been said and written about the need to provide a rule of law in the world. If the nations are to establish an orderly world community, they must be prepared





to live according to some standards of conduct. This kind of international law can best be developed through step-by-step progress, patiently built on solid foundations. The work of the International Court of Justice and the International Law Commission is contributing to the establishment of that foundation. Standards of conduct are also being set in many specialized fields - in meteorology, civil aviation, postal service, health, agriculture and labour relations, to name a few. We have begun to consider the principles that should regulate the exploration and use of outer space.

In 1961 Canada strongly supported the United Nations Development Decade resolution in the hope that its adoption would focus world attention on the pressing economic and social needs of the less-developed countries of the world.

Last year, the General Assembly agreed to hold, probably in the early part of 1964, a Conference on Trade and Development. This conference will concern itself primarily with the broad range of trade and development problems of the less-developed countries. We have supported the idea of the conference and are members of the Preparatory Committee, the body making preparations for the conference. We intend to make a positive contribution to the success of the conference. It is our hope that the work of this conference, combined with parallel efforts of GATT relating the trade problems of less-developed countries, will lead to more favourable conditions for the accelerated promotion of the trade of the less-developed countries.

These developments are but a beginning and much remains to be done. The principal error in appraising the United Nations may be that people have come to expect too much too soon. In President Kennedy's words: "Our instrument and our hope is the United Nations, and I see little merit in the impatience of those who would abandon this imperfect world instrument because they dislike our imperfect world."

The removal of these imperfections is mainly a matter of modifying the attitudes of member states and particularly the attitudes of those who possess the real attributes of power in today's world. This kind of change will come not by drastic reform of constitutional arrangements but by an evolutionary process which will require high statesmanship and great foresight.

There is a tendency these days for us to be captivated by the perpetual short-run crisis dramatized for all the world in a six-word newspaper headline. It is part of my task to deal with the unending succession of events of the moment and part of your task to record them. But somehow both of us must find the ability and summon the courage to raise our eyes and our thoughts forward beyond tomorrow toward the ideals for which we strive.



Those ideals that are expressed so nobly in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitute the greatest vision in the history of mankind - a series of goals that will be fully worthy of the sacrifices of countless men and women who have lived and died in their pursuit, and which are justifiably demanding of our greatest endeavours.

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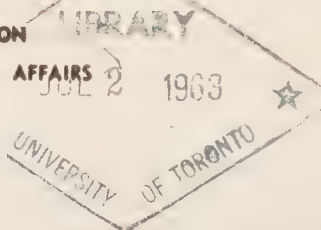






## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 63/11

### THE NORTH AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP

Notes for an Address by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L.B. Pearson, at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, June 9, 1963

... Notre Dame has many historic connections with Canada.

The Order of the Holy Cross is well-known and highly esteemed in my country, where it is engaged in the work of education to the great benefit of our people.

#### Canadians at Notre Dame

Notre Dame's founder, Father Sorin, as General of the Order, guided much of its early work in Canada. Your seventh President, Father Thomas Walsh, was born in Canada. For many years the enrollment at Notre Dame has included a significant number of Canadian students who have later contributed to the development of my country. ...

If you were to visit the largely French-speaking Province of Quebec, you would find the name "Notre Dame" attached to villages, hospitals, convents and churches.

In the early seventeenth century, as one of your poets put it:

"The winds of God were blowing over France,  
Kindling the hearths and altars, changing  
vows of rote into an alphabet of flame."

This began the French era of our history. The language and traditions and spirit of France became a part of Canada's religious, cultural and political heritage.

Many years later priests and lay brothers from France came with Father Sorin to this part of under-developed America. Here they found freedom. Like their compatriots who went to Canada, they also established a classical college. They trained young men in the arts, the humanities, the social sciences and religion. The cultivation and ennoblement of the



human spirit was their purpose. As a result of their work, better men have left these college halls, better citizens have gone out into many communities. ...

### Canada and the U.S.

In our complex world, the leadership we need is of many kinds and must operate in many fields. In seeking it, I believe that **your** country and mine can work, must work, together. Of all the reasons for this, the most important is that together we can contribute more to the fundamental needs and hopes of free men that either of us can contribute alone.

We in Canada are your northern neighbour, and, in a sense, your closest neighbour. Our common border spans a continent and runs close to many of the biggest centres of population in both of our countries. Its importance to both of us was recognized in the communiqué issued by the President and myself after our recent meeting at Hyannis Port. I would like to quote two sentences from that communiqué:

"While it is essential that there should be respect for the common border which symbolizes the independence and national identity of two countries, it is also important that this border should not be a barrier to co-operation which could benefit both of them. Wise co-operation across the border can enhance rather than diminish the sovereignty of each country by making it stronger and more prosperous than before."

From this co-operation we both have much to gain for ourselves. Materially, our trade is the biggest between any two countries in the world. But there is a far wider point than that. It is of the utmost importance that the relations between our two countries should be an example to the world; an example of how two free and independent countries - of great disparity in power - can work together without fear on the part of the smaller, or force on the part of the larger.

Let me put it in a different way, and with the bluntness that we can use with each other. If United States co-operation with Canada were not close and happy, with whom could you co-operate closely and happily?

This point was forcibly put, six years ago, by a Canadian writing in that great American journal Foreign Affairs. He said:

"The ability of **the** United States to get on well with Canada is the first and most direct test of her ability to get on well with every other smaller power ... Canada is the world's hostage of American good intentions. Canada is of good repute in the free world. If Canadians





said that they were being browbeaten by the Americans, if they said that their interests were being seriously prejudiced by the United States, the world's sympathy would lie overwhelmingly with Canada. (That, I may insert, is the price you have to pay for being top dog; the sympathy we enjoy is that which attaches to and cheers us smaller dogs.)

"The world sees Canada as a country very like the United States ... if the Americans could not get on well with Canada, with whom could they get on well? ... good relations with Canada -- the good relations of discussion and co-operation, of some real give and take in policy - are a primary interest of the United States."

Having suggested that we are of some importance to you, let me hasten to say that you are of very obvious, and often of overwhelming, importance to us. Geography, history, economics, defence, combine to make your interests in world affairs very largely our interests. When your security is weakened, we have cause to worry. When freedom falters with you, ours is diminished.

The basis of our relations, in short, is that we are essential to each other.

It was not always so. For a long time, in the formative years of our two countries, we were by no means the best of friends, or even very good neighbours. Indeed, I should tell you that only yesterday I was taking part in celebrating the 150th anniversary of a battle in which we repelled American invaders; at least we did in our history books. Yours are less accurate. That was a long time ago. I think that both our countries are entitled to some sense of satisfaction about the way in which we have since worked out a peaceful relations.

### Harmony Not Always Easy

It has not been altogether easy, and I don't expect it to become easy. There are and always will be difficulties and differences of interest between us. It would be folly to ignore them. A country is a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. But it has parts. And those parts have their own particular interests. Individual industries in Canada, particular areas of Canada, inevitably have interests which are competitive with the interests of individual industries and particular areas of your country. The very closeness, the acute and pervasive interdependence, of our relations means that there are bound to be a great many differences.

Those are the facts of life. It is evidence of the nature of our neighbourhood that we do not have to worry morbidly about them or allow them to poison our relations. Perhaps I



should say it ought to be the nature of our neighbourhood, and usually it has been. We should be able to take differences in stride, as good friends who know how to take the broad view, to make the general interest prevail, and therefore to accommodate the minor differences with reason and restraint.

### Mutual Interests Predominate

We shall the better be able to do this if we remember that the things we have in common are much greater than the things that divide us. The political traditions of the United States and of Canada are from the same roots. Each of us has tried to build a society that gives first place to the individual man - his needs, his hopes, his rights, his responsibilities. Our methods are in some ways different, and our efforts on both sides less than perfect, but on balance we can both claim some success in our dedication to the free society. We stand together also in our common dedication to the ways of peace and in our common determination to co-operate and prevail in the cause of freedom and fair dealing between nations. We stand together in the Atlantic alliance, which has proved itself to be the shield of a free world, and in a United Nations, which is groping toward a world brotherhood which, in our nuclear, jet-propelled age has become an urgent necessity for survival itself.

### Sources of Disagreement

I am sure that to you at this university, who are students of history and of ideas, these things that our countries have in common need no emphasis from me. Of our differences you may be less aware; the differences which make the good relations between our two countries not always an easy relation. I do not think so much of our differences in particular interests. Those are normal and can be dealt with. I think of another and central relation which I have already mentioned - the enormous disparity in power between the two countries. You are a gigantic, a super, power. Canada is far from that.

From this, two consequences follow. We are always watching big brother to see what trouble he might get us into - while at times protesting at the fact that big brother is not watching us. You are unaware. We are uneasy. This can cause misunderstandings that should be avoided.

A second consequence of your being a big power and our being a much smaller power is that you and we at times react differently to international problems. Despite all that we have in common as North Americans, we often look at things through very different telescopes. We share this difference of viewpoint with other smaller countries.





Our distinction, among those smaller powers, is that we are North American. We are very close to you in so many ways, closer to you than any other country.

There are bound to be these differences between us, arising primarily from the contrasts of size and power and responsibilities; but we do not have to allow those differences to divide us. On the contrary, the objective we can and should set for ourselves is to make the differences work for us, to the benefit of both our countries and of international relations generally.

### Making Differences Work

By making the differences work for us, I mean that we can complement each other's policies and ideas. I mean that, on the foundation of our own close partnership, there are ways of some importance in which Canada can assist in the broader partnership of both our countries with others - with the North Atlantic Community, with the members of the Commonwealth, with the new and developing nations in the world. Our very lack of power makes possible for us a certain measure of ease and flexibility in international relations that is not possible for the giants. You cannot sneeze without other countries thinking they are getting a cold and feeling inclined to blame it on you. We can sneeze with impunity.

We have much in common with the smaller nations of Europe; and our own political and economic development is recent enough for us to have considerable sympathy with the problems of the newer nations.

I am bold enough to believe that these circumstances give to our partnership with you a special value. It is more than a partnership of direct mutual benefit. It is more than an example of a good relation between two nations. It is also a partnership in which, if we work wisely together, we can do a more constructive job in international relations than either you, as the big power, or we, as a smaller power, could do if there were no such partnership, for if history had created in the northern part of this continent one nation instead of two. Because there are two nations, I believe that we are creating more vigorous and more satisfying communities than could ever have been produced within one framework.

That is part of the challenge that faces my country. I hope that, in talking about it, I have said something of more general value to the people to whom I am primarily speaking - to the graduating class of 1963 at Notre Dame and to the members of the faculty who have worked with the class to make this great day possible. As a Canadian, I admire the great work your forefathers have done to shape this nation and make it a mighty force for freedom, progress and peace in the world. Your generation will soon be carrying on that work. It is a more difficult



and challenging task now. You will be called on to meet new tests and overcome new challenges. Whatever you may choose to do after you leave university, you will have to make your own contribution as citizens to the solution of problems that face your country, my country and the world.

In doing so, I hope you will continue to feel the value of your partnership with Canadians.

I feel myself a deep sense of the value and of the necessity of that partnership. I share that feeling with the vast majority of all Canadians. I shall do my own best to preserve and strengthen it, on the only foundation that can endure, friendship and co-operation based on mutual respect and good understanding between our two nations.

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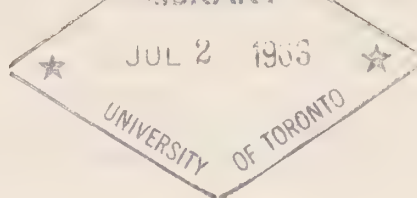






# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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No. 63/12

## LESSONS OF AN OLD CONFLICT

An Address by the Prime Minister  
of Canada, Mr. L.B. Pearson, at  
the Commemorating of the 150th  
Anniversary of the Battle of  
Stoney Creek, Ontario, June 8, 1963

The 150th anniversary of the Battle of Stoney Creek is a moving occasion for us all. As a Canadian citizen and as the Prime Minister of Canada, I am honoured to take part in the commemoration.

We know that this Battle - a small and confused engagement - was nevertheless a decisive turning point in the War of 1812-1814. I am not going to take your time repeating today that chapter of our history. As a boy, I learned all about it. We "beat" the Americans and Laura Secord became a heroine.

Today, however, it is more appropriate for us to think not about that far-away war but about the results which flowed from it. Canada was successfully defended and our national future assured. A great part of the success lay in the fact that, when we had had our war, relations between Canada and the United States were transformed.

### A Radical Change

The peace made in 1814 acknowledged neither victor nor vanquished. Militarily and territorially, the two parties - the United States and Britain - reverted to the status quo ante. But this was an occasion when standing still in form meant great progress in spirit; it meant a radical change in the spirit of the relation between the two countries.

It meant that, at last, Great Britain accepted all the implications and the consequences of the American Revolution. She became willing to deal with the United States on the basis of true equality. And the United States, for its part, accepted the separate existence of Canada. Implicitly, the Americans recognized that, while we in Canada were not going to join them, we might move towards self-government and independence, through a process of evolution.



## An Enduring Pattern

In this spirit, it became possible for the United States and Great Britain, with increasingly direct participation by Canada, gradually to find ways and means of solving the many problems and differences which remained between them. There were, in particular, very difficult and contentious problems about the border between Canada and the United States and about international waters and fisheries. The techniques of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration which were then evolved set a pattern which has stood the test of time and remains to this day. So do the problems now more complicated and difficult than ever. For their solution now, goodwill and mutual understanding are needed as never before.

Today, then, we are not only commemorating the 150th anniversary of a military victory. Even more significantly, we are celebrating a century and a half of close, active and mutually profitable co-operation between Canada and the United States. It is a good example of good neighbourhood which is looked at with envy, and could be followed with equal advantage, in many parts of our troubled world. Since 1815 we have had lots of orws - but rows with wars or without a breach in our friendship. That is a real achievement. Let's keep it that way.

You will remember that shortly after the war, in 1817, an agreement was signed which is in force to this day and which provided for naval disarmament on the Great Lakes. This was one of the few disarmament agreements in history that worked.

## A Precedent Worth Study

I know, of course, that with nuclear missiles and jet planes, the task of achieving disarmament on a world scale has become immensely more complicated. But I do suggest that the precedent of the Rush-Bagot Agreement could be studied with profit by some countries who are neighbours and who, like Canada and the United States of those days, have reasons to distrust each other but even more compelling reasons for removing that distrust.

There is another aspect of the War of 1812 that has been given less attention than it deserves. The response of Canadians to that War revealed the essential seeds that were later to develop into Canadian nationhood.

The Maritime colonies and the outlying Western garrisons were no less anxious than Upper and Lower Canada to affirm their common identity in the struggle. They showed their common desire to live in North America as part of the British system. Canadians of French descent were no less devoted to this objective than were those of British stock. It is not too much to say that in 1812 the foundations of Canadian nationhood were established.

## Two Peoples and Two Cultures

The role of Lower Canada in 1812 showed that this was truly to be a nation of two founding peoples and two basic cultures. Many of the great moments of Canadian history have been moments when people of English and French origins have shown their willingness and ability to co-operate on a basis of true equality. It is that partnership which affirms our Canadian identity and gives it a distinct sense of common purpose and destiny.





That is no less true in the twentieth century. Many of the challenges in Canada that face us today are ones of adaptation to economic and social progress. If, in the course of such changes, either one of the two founding peoples were to feel that it was less able to fulfil its legitimate aspirations, Canada would soon lose its personality, if not its complete existence.

#### Canadian Fact Matures

But that will not happen. The Canadian personality, the Canadian fact, will continue to grow in maturity and strength through the active and sincere co-operation of English and French Canadians, together with the contribution of more recent Canadians of other origins. I have every confidence that we will find the ways and means of achieving this overriding objective, in the tradition of our forefathers who found, in the years that followed the War of 1812, the ways and means of building the Canadian nation.

I am confident also that this nation will continue to live in friendship, based on mutual understanding and mutual respect, with its great neighbour. We two - as separate and free peoples - are joined together by the facts of geography and economics and by the dangers and necessities of contemporary history. Let no man try to put us asunder.

With these words, I have the great honour of declaring officially open the Battlefield Park, enlarged in commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Battle of Stoney Creek.

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## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 63/13

### THE INFLUENCE OF FILM ON THE GROWTH OF CULTURE

An address by the Honourable Lucien Cardin,  
P.C., M.P., Associate Minister of National  
Defence, at the closing luncheon of the Art  
Film Festival and Seminar sponsored by the  
Canadian National Commission for UNESCO,  
Ottawa, May 25, 1963.

...Even though one fully appreciates the merits and the high significance of the present event which is taking place under the auspices of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, it is a fact that NATO's important session has nearly monopolized the press headlines this week. This could have been a source of annoyance to you, and I can well imagine the concern that may have been felt by the organizers of the Festival and Seminar, who were also trying to attract public attention. Such misgivings, however, were not justified, for your meetings had been carefully prepared and the high standard of lectures and exchange of views have fully come up to your expectations and purposes. You had, moreover, a major asset with regard to public information, since your seminar is the first of its kind in Canada. It is, indeed, the first time that the Canadian National Commission has had the honour to present an art film festival and seminar.

Need I say how pleased the Government has been to act as host to the Conference? Since I was called on to replace Mr. Pickersgill, who is responsible for the main cultural institutions of the federal state, it is not in my capacity as Associate Minister of Defence that I address you. On the other hand, I can hardly speak to you in the name of my distinguished colleague, as I should find it awkward to venture into a field of which Mr. Pickersgill has a superior knowledge, and I should be vexed with myself for betraying his thought. I should like, therefore, to act as spokesman for the Government I represent, and my remarks (I hope you will forgive me for this) will necessarily be very general in nature. Furthermore, I am happy for the unexpected duplication of personality afforded to me by this talk, as it enables me to dwell on the diversity and complexity of the tasks of a modern state. In this wide range of activities, I should like to stress the importance we attach to the development of culture. In order to be truly constructive, statesmanship cannot ignore any area of human activity, and it is normal that, beyond their special sphere, Cabinet members should keep, like the gentleman of the classical period, a keen and constant interest in all that concerns man.





### A Universal Language

I do not have to convince you of the high status held by the arts as privileged vehicles of the noblest aspirations of humanity. And among the arts, your choice encouraged the more traditional as well as the more recent media. Is there a language more universal than fine arts and a striking force more persuasive and reassuring than films and television? An unequalled instrument of diffusion, films very adequately convey the most varied messages; and I imagine that is also the case for the diffusion of artistic knowledge. May I offer a modest personal testimony? Thanks to the seventh art, I have had the pleasure - often through the remarkable productions of the National Film Board - of becoming acquainted with some fascinating and sometimes original aspects of painting, sculpture and architecture. I am thinking particularly of that stirring film on Ozias Leduc, the painter of Saint-Hilaire. It is not I, therefore, who would criticize the film as an information medium in the field of fine arts, even if I were to temper this opinion with a few considerations to which I shall return in the course of this talk.

I am now bringing to an end this egocentric digression, as I am well aware of the limited relevance here of my personal impressions as a film fan. They reflect at most the point of view of an amateur and derive no particular significance from the fact that they emanate from a Cabinet member. However, it will be of great interest to you, I am sure, to know the value attached by the Canadian Government to an event like this Seminar and Festival of Art Films. That comparisons could have been established by means of some 50 films from different countries, illustrating the art of the most varied periods, is a particularly impressive and rewarding achievement in the still relatively new field of films on art. You may rest assured that Canada is proud to welcome here a Pleiad of distinguished speakers and guests from all provinces of the country, as well as from abroad, who have been willing to share their extensive knowledge and experience of cinematography. On the occasion of this meeting, exchanges took place between some 30 countries, thanks to the eager participation of diplomatic missions. I should not be surprised if this Festival and Seminar of May 1963 were to constitute a landmark in the history of co-operation between fine arts and films.

### An Extension of the Museum

The mission which is yours is laden with consequences in the field of civilization. In his wonderful Dialogue with the visible, René Huyghe does not fear to state that "the visual, its prestige and vast powers must be put to work in order to preserve the inner balance of human life." This view agrees with the teachings of depth psychology and with the objectives of modern states, which aim at the material and moral welfare of their citizens and seek all ways to tighten the bonds of brotherhood between men. Knowledge of the arts throws indeed some very interesting light on the evolution of peoples and civilizations, and in this perspective I see art films as a marvellous extension of the museum and an instrument whose potential must be used to a maximum.



The democratization of culture corresponds to a basic need, and one can observe, on a universal scale, a growing interest in arts. If, in a modern state, art must be the property of all citizens, it behooves the specialists, in the first place, to devise the most appropriate ways of reaching that goal. By sharing your experience on the various levels of film production, film acquisition and distribution, you are able to establish rational plans for the development of artistic resources. You are the advisers of the state, which relies on your valuable co-operation for a better development of culture and, in the particular field with which we are at present concerned, for a wider spreading of art knowledge through audio-visual methods.

### Getting through to the Public

I shall not conceal the fact, however, that, in my humble opinion, this objective is of a colossal nature and unattainable on a short-term basis in spite of the considerable effort which is now being put forth. While it is conceivable, for instance, to increase significantly the number of "museophiles", a class of people among whom are recruited the most enthusiastic art-film lovers, and to widen the circulation of films in cultural or educational institutions, the day seems far off when one will truly be able to reach the man in the street, or in the country, that anonymous crowd which must be won over patiently. That is why I think that art films, which are just emerging from their "heroic period," should use not an elementary language but one that is characterized by the utmost simplicity. I know you are perfectly aware of the vast challenge to be taken up and are searching for the means best suited to convey your message. As an example, may I mention here an experiment made along that line? Very recently, the NFB undertook this painstaking approach to the public with a film on the painter Paul-Emile Borduas. In the hope of introducing the spectator into the confusing world of abstraction, the film proceeded from the known to the unknown and strictly followed a chronological sequence. The public will, in the last resort, decide if the experiment was successful and if the film transcended the "silverscreen." During its première in Montreal, I can assure you that it was warmly received by the public, perhaps precisely on account of that direct and simple approach.

But it is not my business to enter a debate outside the scope of my knowledge, which you can successfully solve. I wish only to point out the accessibility of art films to the general public, and I remain convinced that popularization and quality do not exclude one another. On the contrary.

### Co-operative Planning

Now, I should like to assure you that your objectives are borne in mind by the Government. I shall dwell here on what some people call "perspective," which is nothing else but a rational anticipation and a wise utilization of years to come. It is undeniable that efficient action can only be ensured by a continuing co-operation of all intermediate bodies, the specialists and the state. And one cannot insist too much on the responsibility of the state, which is, in the last resort, the co-ordinator and the determining factor of social and cultural progress in modern society. In this spirit, the most practical instrument available to the state exists under the name of planning or, if one prefers a less radical term, orientation. To develop rational plans which





necessarily cover a rather long period, the co-operation of specialists such as yourselves is indispensable. In the present stage of human evolution, the role of chance is getting smaller every day. This can be observed daily, not only in laboratories but also in administration. And one of the surest ways to make the best possible use of resources, be it in the field of economy or culture, is to develop programmes of wide scope. It might be thought, at first, that the arts, owing to the individualism and freedom which are the hallmarks of their highest manifestations, cannot be placed under the rule of "plans". That is true of creation. Art councils do not engender genius, although they often promote its expression. In the end, a plan keeps all its value in the development of artistic capital if it is true, as can be proven by the body under whose auspices you are gathered, that the moral and intellectual development of humanity must be organized to a large extent.

### Role of UNESCO

The activity of an organization such as UNESCO in the spread of culture is submitted to a strict working plan, which is gradually expanding, thanks to the active co-operation of its members, who multiply initiatives of the type of your Festival and Seminar of Art Films. As a member of UNESCO, Canada encourages the diffusion of the art masterpieces of the world by distributing its publications. Prominence is also accorded by your organization to the development of educational aids such as films, which contribute to a better knowledge of the plastic arts and help to intensify the exchange of ideas and information. By endeavouring to interest as large a public as possible in the various fields of arts and humanities, you are aiming at a dual objective: to enable all men to take part in the cultural life of the community and to help everyone to appreciate the artistic inheritance of man, thereby ensuring the development of mutual respect and understanding between nations.

### Originality of Canada

There is no task more directly related to your objectives or more necessary to the development of international co-operation with regard to culture than the collecting and dissemination of information. In technical fields like that of art films, specialists must accumulate facts and documents before they can plan and carry out their projects. A gathering like yours, by the inventory it takes, by the exchanges it promotes and by the mine of information it uncovers, eminently favours the cultural action of the state. It is, of course, by encouraging initial action at the national level that UNESCO may attain its objective. A look at Canada reveals that the originality of this country resides mainly in the coexistence of two cultures that hold a rank of prestige in Western civilization. The development of these two cultures, which stimulate each other and have been referred to lately by the neologism "biculturalism", requires the equality of and complete respect for the two great sources of humanism which constitute our inheritance. The contribution of other ethnic groups should not be neglected.

A mosaic with two predominating colours but tinted with shades and hues borrowed from many different cultures, Canada promotes the development of arts as one of the most valuable factors of unity in diversity. The Juebecker who discovered British Columbia through the works of Emily Carr, the



Vancouverite who becomes acquainted with Quebec through the eloquent paintings of Jean-Paul Lemieux, are better able, assuredly, to hold a dialogue and to appreciate the values of their respective traditions that form - let us not forget it - a common inheritance.

### Art as Cement

If one considers the present effulgence of Quebec, one must recognize that much of the credit is to be given to Quebec artists. For the past 20 years, Canada has seen a great development in the field of arts, but it is not untrue to say that a good part of our prestige has been brought by the artists of Quebec. I further believe that art constitutes the most precious cement that can unite nations and, in our case, strengthen the ties of the two major ethnic groups. The Torontonians, the residents of Winnipeg, the citizens of Moncton or of Montreal can discover the common points which draw them closer together; they can define their identity as Canadians more easily by being in contact with works of art than through any other way. The success of a Riopelle and the achievements of a Harold Towne constitute, on the national as well as the international level, self-assertions of which Canada can be justly proud.

The art film which helps our nationals to acquire a better knowledge of their own artistic wealth can also bring to Canadians a fraternal message from other countries. During the next season, thanks to a travelling exhibition of the National Gallery, Picasso will be, to the hundreds of thousands who will visit museums, something more than a name to be used as a handy designation for modern art. To a still greater extent than these exhibitions, films can reach huge audiences. Until now, films on art have been only a sub-section in the general category of cultural films. In the future, it will perhaps be appropriate to make a sharper distinction and to intensify the specific distribution of these films. I am inclined to believe that more could be done for the diffusion of films on art. Nothing should hamper such diffusion, provided that the general public is not frightened away by demonstrations which are too technical or too austere and provided the best way is found to reach the average spectator.

This Seminar and Festival is a proof of an ever-growing interest in art. While it is true that the responsibilities of the state imply the realization of many other objectives of vital interest, I am ready to acknowledge that an answer must be given immediately to the needs which were frankly and clearly stated by the specialists gathered at this 1963 meeting.

I agree, therefore, in principle to the wishes you expressed and I shall put before my colleagues in the Government the resolutions adopted at the conclusion of this conference with regard to the creation of an information centre which would possess a unique and detailed catalogue of new productions, Canadian or foreign, in the field of art films. This initiative would result in a better integration of art films within the Canadian distribution network. You agree that, in fact (and one should praise here the wonderful work of the Canadian Film Institute), this centre does already exist, but you plan to assure its development. I fully endorse your suggestions, so true is it that the diffusion of arts holds a unique, inalienable and predestined place in the upkeep and development of civilization.







# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 63/14

An Address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., M.P., to the Annual Dinner Meeting of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in Quebec City, June 8, 1963.

Discours du secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, l'honorable Paul Martin, C.P., député, au dîner annuel de l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales, à Québec, le 8 juin 1963.

I am happy to be in Quebec City to speak to the thirtieth annual dinner meeting of the CIIA. For me this is a time of some nostalgia, for I have been a member of the Institute from its beginning and the association has been one of the most valuable of my activities. The "International Journal", the "Behind the Headlines" pamphlets and the scholarly works on Canada in world affairs are all important aspects of the fine contribution which the Institute has made to the study of Canadian foreign policy.

We are very fortunate in the Institute to have John Holmes as President. For many years with the Department of External Affairs at the United Nations and as an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and more recently with his writings on international affairs, John Holmes has made and continues to make a truly significant and highly valuable contribution to Canada. Under his fine leadership I am certain the Institute is going to play an even more vital role in Canadian foreign policy in the future. As one indication of this I am particularly pleased to see you developing in the Province of Quebec.

On m'a questionné plusieurs fois ces derniers temps au sujet de l'orientation nouvelle de notre politique étrangère. Bien que ce soit sans doute, une question fort justifiée, il n'est évidemment pas facile d'y répondre, surtout durant les semaines très chargées qui font suite à l'entrée en fonction d'un nouveau gouvernement.

Avant d'adopter une politique et des objectifs, il faut d'abord beaucoup d'étude et de détermination, car la politique étrangère d'un pays doit refléter son caractère profond. Ces dernières années, plusieurs ont eu l'impression que le Canada ne trouvait plus sa voie ni sa destinée propre et manquait peut-être de confiance en l'avenir.

Nous sommes résolus de retrouver cette voie, d'éclairer cette destinée, de rétablir cette confiance. Les voyages du premier ministre, M. Pearson, à Londres et Hyannis Port ont été le premier signe de cette



détermination. Des indices précis nous permettent de constater déjà que les Canadiens commencent à reprendre confiance au Canada et à son avenir. Nous devons dès maintenant faire résolument face aux problèmes qui nous affrontent, tant au Canada qu'à l'étranger.

This evening I would like to do two things. First, I want to discuss with you some of the new economic dimensions in Canadian foreign policy. Secondly, I want to show how the very character of the Canadian nation influences our policies and provides us with important diplomatic assets.

Perhaps the most striking development in international affairs in recent years has been the increased awareness and importance of a nation's foreign economic policy. In a world where the great issues of peace and war are coming to have increasingly significant economic aspects, a world in which the importance of international trade to the domestic economies of virtually all countries is of increasing importance and a world which is witnessing the great ascent of the developing countries, foreign economic policy becomes a crucial element in a nation's overall foreign policy.

International trade and economic relationships are undergoing great changes today. For Canada, today's world may be tougher and more competitive than the one we lived in during the early 1950's. However, it holds great promise and great opportunities. The rewards and influences are there to be achieved provided our foreign economic policies are designed with a full understanding of these changes.

Underlying the changes in international economic relationships are the striking advances in science and technology which characterize our age. Canada has successfully entered the fields of electronics, of satellite communications and of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Cobalt therapy equipment, designed in Canada, is now found in many areas of the world. We supplied a research reactor to India. We have designed and constructed natural uranium powered reactors. The Government intends to participate fully in programmes of satellite communications. We are proud of the fact that in addition to the United States and the U.S.S.R. Canada is the only other country to have designed and built a satellite in orbit. I refer to our advanced research satellite, launched in co-operation with the United States, appropriately named "Alouette".

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of these developments. They have opened up vast new opportunities for Canada. But we forget at our peril that we live in a world in which man has learned to communicate with another man orbiting the earth but not with a man separated by only a few feet of dark stone wall in the city of Berlin. In history our age will surely be judged on the choice we make regarding the use of our scientific achievements; whether we use them for constructive or destructive purposes, whether we use them for swords or for ploughshares. We are determined to make the right choice.

Let me now turn to some of the economic factors influencing Canadian foreign policy. Trade and economic patterns all over the world are being profoundly affected by the new regional economic groups, especially in Europe, but also in Latin America and in Africa.





Canada has always placed traditional emphasis on trade and economic relations with Britain, the Commonwealth and the United States and we shall continue to give these trading relations all the attention and care which they warrant.

But Canada cannot remain indifferent to the emergence of the new economic giant in Europe. With its remarkable rate of economic development, the ECM is of great significance to Canada both as an expanding market and because of the new economic and political techniques which are being pioneered there. The ECM will have a major voice in the development of world-wide trade policies and, as the recent discussions at GATT ministerial meeting showed, The Six can speak with a determined mind of their own when they wish.

The Canadian Government is sympathetic with the political and historical trends which have brought The Six together. Now that Europe and the United States are faced with the historic promise of working together and co-operating to further the prosperity and development of both the free world and the developing world, we are determined to play our part in this great endeavour.

One of the crucial international issues today is whether the advanced countries of the Western world are prepared to reduce trade barriers and to work for the expansion of world trade.

At the recent meetings in Geneva, the GATT nations had before them proposals for a more comprehensive approach to negotiations on tariffs, the difficult matter of world agricultural trade, which in so many countries is subject to restrictive arrangements and the whole question of opening new and better trading opportunities for the less developed countries.

The ministerial meeting, which was the fifth since 1947, marked the opening of new efforts to deal with all these trade problems in the GATT. A definite time-table for the tariff negotiations was established and broad agreement reached on the general principles and procedures to be followed. The position of countries such as Canada with a limited range of exports and a great variety of imports was recognized. It was also decided that agricultural trade would be fully included in the negotiations. In total the results of the meeting constitute a significant achievement.

A vital aspect of international economic policy is the need to stimulate the economic growth and prosperity of developing countries of half the globe. Although these countries must, of course, carry the main burden of responsibility for their own economic well-being, it has been recognized for some time that the advanced industrialized countries have great responsibility for assisting these countries through the difficult phase before their economies become self-sustaining.

In the last decade a great deal has already been accomplished. Many lessons have been learned and much hard experience has been gained. Even though the problems involved are steadily increasing in scope and are becoming more complex and more urgent, I think that we in the Western world are better equipped now after over a decade of experience to play our part in what has come to be known as "the great ascent".



While the importance of strict financial assistance to the developing countries has in no way diminished, there is, I believe, a new awareness of the trade problems of these countries. For the past several years the GATT Contracting Parties, through their Committee III, have been making a special study of ways to expand the export opportunities of these developing countries. At the GATT ministerial meeting to which I have already referred, these problems were given a great deal of attention. It was agreed that in forthcoming tariff negotiations the less developed countries should not be expected to pay fully for trade and tariff benefits they have received.

Meanwhile, in the United Nations an initiative was launched by the Economic and Social Council last summer for a special World Trade and Development Conference, which is to be concerned mainly with the trade and economic problems of developing countries. Canada is a member of the 30-member Preparatory Committee which is now meeting for the second time in Geneva to make plans for this conference which will probably take place early next year.

Here then is an area of great concern to the people of Canada. As an advanced country with a high standard of living, we must play our full share bilaterally and through our membership in international organizations to hasten the economic progress of the less developed countries. This is not a task of charity. It is a responsibility which rests upon the recognition that faster economic progress and greater political stability in the less developed world is vital to world peace.

The Government recognizes the importance of this responsibility, and the energies of several other departments, in addition to my own, are being brought to bear on the problems of the developing countries.

The encouragement and the support of the Canadian people for these efforts are absolutely vital. The Institute has assisted in the creation of this public support and understanding. I hope that you will do even more in the future. I hope that the Government can do much more to explain the nature and the extent of our obligations and responsibilities to the developing countries to the people of Canada.

J'ai tenté de décrire les nouvelles dimensions économiques de la politique internationale et d'évoquer quelques-uns des effets qui s'en suivront pour la politique étrangère du Canada. C'est au sein de la Communauté atlantique que se manifestent, sans aucun doute, la plupart de ces transformations.

Les bénéfices qui peuvent résulter d'une coopération économique étroite entre les pays de l'Atlantique doivent cependant profiter au reste du monde, et tout particulièrement aux pays en voie de développement. C'est là un des principaux objectifs de l'Organisation pour la coopération et le développement économiques, - objectif qui ne peut être atteint que si les pays de la Communauté atlantique coopèrent le plus étroitement possible. Je crois que le Canada peut jouer un rôle à cette fin.

A l'occasion de la récente réunion ministérielle du Conseil de l'OTAN, j'ai eu le plaisir de rencontrer les ministres des Affaires étrangères des quatorze autres pays membres de notre Communauté atlantique. "Tout au cours des entretiens privés que j'ai eus avec nos distingués





visiteurs, comme je le déclarais à la Chambres des communes le 28 mai, s'est manifestée une conscience profonde de ce que le succès de l'Alliance dépend en dernière analyse de notre capacité d'atteindre à une association réelle des peuples de l'Europe occidentale et de l'Amérique du Nord. Cette association dépendait surtout naguère de l'entente anglo-américaine, à laquelle il est arrivé au Canada de contribuer à l'occasion. L'intimité qui règne entre Washington et Londres en est l'encourageant résultat.

"Aujourd'hui que l'Europe s'est complètement relevée des ruines de la guerre, la Communauté atlantique doit reposer sur des bases plus larges.

"Le Canada, en sa qualité de pays nord-américain, doté d'un précieux héritage et de deux cultures reçues de deux mères-patries, peut encore avoir l'occasion d'être utile en exerçant une influence discrète en vue d'une entente atlantique encore plus parfaite."

Le caractère bilingue et biculturel du Canada peut accroître et rendre plus utile son rôle international, en même temps qu'il lui est une source d'enrichissement et un gage de son identité en tant qu'Etat distinct. Parce qu'il participe historiquement et culturellement à des civilisations britannique et anglo-saxonnes aussi bien qu'à des civilisations française et latines, tout en étant voisin des Etats-Unis et membre de Commonwealth, le Canada est admirablement doté pour contribuer au rapprochement entre les nations de la Communauté atlantique.

Une fédération canadienne unie dans sa riche diversité pourrait peut-être servir d'exemple ou d'encouragement aux jeunes Etats comme aux nations chevronnées qui songent à se fédérer. J'ose croire qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'un rêve mais d'un objectif que nous pouvons réaliser si nous le voulons vraiment.

Mais la tâche ne sera pas facile. Seuls la compréhension, le respect et la tolérance mutuels nous permettront de l'accomplir. Cela exigera travail et sacrifices.

I emphasize to you that Canadian foreign policy should reflect the history and traditions of the various groups within Canada. Mr. Louis St. Laurent stated this well in a lecture which he delivered in 1947 on the foundations of Canadian policy in world affairs:

"The first general principle on which we agree is that our external policies should not destroy our unity."

In that same lecture, Mr. St. Laurent discussed our historic ties with France:

"With France also our relations rest upon principles that have emerged clearly from our history. We have never forgotten that France is one of the fountainheads of our cultural life. We realize that she forms an integral part of the framework of our international life. We have so much in common that, despite the differences between the French political system and our own, we cannot doubt for a moment that our objects in world affairs are similar. We in this country have always believed in the greatness of France."



Au cours d'entretiens que j'eus le mois dernier avec le ministre des Affaires étrangères de France, M. Couve de Murville, j'ai souligné l'importance accrue que nous aimerions donner à nos relations avec la France, et ce dans tous les domaines. Sans être nécessairement d'accord en tous points avec certains aspects de sa politique étrangère, nous admirons tous la façon prodigieuse dont la France s'est redressée depuis une guerre dévastatrice, l'essor remarquable de son économie et son dynamisme industriel, soutenus par la vigueur de ses recherches scientifiques et de ses progrès techniques.

Cette renaissance économique et la politique énergique poursuivie par le président de Gaulle vont d'ailleurs de pair avec une activité soutenue dans les domaines des arts et des lettres, de la culture et de la pensée sous toutes ses formes. Ce respect dont témoigne l'Europe occidentale pour les valeurs de l'esprit et son rapport culturel demeurent les facteurs d'enrichissement essentiels pour notre civilisation.

It is of profound value to Canada that nearly one-third of our own population embodies in a more and more dynamic way many aspects of the French culture in our North American environment.

I could mention an imposing number of international associations that draw representatives of the French-speaking nations together, be they journalists, lawyers, physicians or scientists. It was university men from Quebec who originated and founded two years ago the Association of French-speaking Universities. These associations contribute to making Canada better known not only in Europe but also in Africa, from the Mediterranean to Madagascar. A growing number of French-speaking students, especially from Africa, are attending universities in Quebec. In addition, our French-Canadian colleges and universities have been attracting students from Latin America for a long time, because their curricula are based on common humanistic and spiritual values as adapted to the modern world, French-Canada alone, I believe, can offer such a living synthesis of the Latin and the North American spirit.

The Government of Quebec is co-operating with the Federal Government in organizing a technical assistance programme for French-speaking African states and with the provision of French-speaking teachers for these states. This is an aspect of our foreign policy in which the French-Canadian contribution is of extreme value.

Les Canadiens français ont avec l'Amérique latine de nombreuses affinités d'ordre culturel, social et religieux. Les missionnaires du Québec et du Canada français ont été les premiers représentants de notre pays en Amérique latine, bien avant que nous puissions y ouvrir des ambassades. Tout en accomplissant un travail que nous ne saurons jamais trop admirer, ils y font encore aujourd'hui aimer le Canada. Il y a présentement en Amérique latine environ 1,300 missionnaires catholiques du Canada français, s'occupant d'enseignement, d'oeuvres sociales et d'hôpitaux ou de cliniques, tout en poursuivant leur oeuvre pastorale. Trois des évêques d'Amérique latine sont canadiens-français.

Il y a de plus en Amérique latine un grand nombre de missionnaires protestants. L'excellente réputation dont jouit notre pays tout entier en Amérique latine, nous en sommes redevables en grande partie à tous ces missionnaires, et je veux aujourd'hui leur rendre tout particulièrement hommage.





Enfin, il faut souligner l'apport indispensable de nos diplomates canadiens-français à la diplomatie canadienne. Je songe à mon distingué prédécesseur et premier ministre, M. Louis St-Laurent, et à notre ancien ambassadeur en France, Son Excellence le général Georges Vanier; je songe aussi à notre sous-ministre adjoint, M. Marcel Cadieux, à nos ambassadeurs successifs à Paris ou à Rome ou maintenant aux Nations Unies, et à tous nos chefs de mission à l'étranger qui sont de langue française.

I am thinking as well of all our foreign service officers, who have elected to play an active and direct role in the conduct of Canadian foreign policy and whose contribution is not only helpful and always greatly appreciated, but is absolutely essential. Their personal culture, their traditions, their understanding of both the European and American minds are an invaluable asset while some of their other qualities, such as their flexibility, are essentially qualities of diplomacy itself.

Je crois avoir amplement démontré à quel point notre diplomatie et notre prestige international bénéficient du caractère biculturel du Canada. Ce soir, à Québec, je voudrais inviter les étudiants canadiens-français qualifiés à entrer en plus grand nombre dans notre Service extérieur afin d'enrichir le caractère même du Canada et de nous aider à jouer pleinement notre rôle au sein de la diplomatie internationale.

Je sais qu'un certain nombre de candidats qualifiés hésitent à se joindre à nous à Ottawa parce que l'administration fédérale n'a pas toujours su reconnaître en pratique le caractère biculturel qui doit être le sien pour le plus grand enrichissement du pays.

Je vous assure qu'en dépit de l'enchaînement des problèmes nous entendons remédier à cette situation.

Let me summarize what I have said this evening:

1. It is vital that Canadian foreign policy include the co-ordination and integration of all aspects of external policy, especially in the fields of trade and defence.
2. Canadian foreign economic policy, while designed to provide maximum benefits for all sections of Canada, has high among its objectives the lowering of international trade barriers and the stimulation of the economic growth of the developing countries.
3. The benefits which can be achieved from greater economic co-operation amongst the nations of the Atlantic area must radiate out into the countries of the developing world.
4. Canada is uniquely fitted to play a useful part in promoting understanding and co-operation between Europe and North America.
5. The bicultural character of Canada is an important factor in the shaping of our foreign policy and is an immense asset in our diplomacy. I appeal to qualified bilingual Canadians to join our foreign service so that we may enhance our country's international stature and ensure that the heritage of Canada is fully reflected in our foreign policy.



We are living in a revolutionary age, where our system of government and our basic values and ideals are being challenged both from without and sometimes even from within. I am convinced that, with good leadership and by remaining true to the great heritage of our country, Canada has a vital part to play in the age-old pursuit of mankind -- a pursuit all the more hazardous today -- the search for a world where men and women everywhere can live in peace and security.

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s/c







CANADA

# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/15

Extracts from a Statement by the Honourable Paul T. Hellyer, P.C., M.P., Minister of National Defence, to the Opening Session of the Special Committee on Defence, Ottawa, June 27, 1963.

... Canada's defence policy is an extension of its foreign policy. In particular, we have been members of and closely identified with three international organizations which have made demands on our armed forces and made it possible for us to contribute to the maintenance of peace. These organizations are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the North American Air Defence Command and the United Nations.

## NATO

Canada was one of the original 12 (now 15) nations signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty in April 1949, and played a leading role in the formation of the alliance, the members of which are, in the words of the Treaty, "determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples ... (and) are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security". NATO continues to be an essential foundation of Canada's foreign and defence policies.

NATO was the response of the free countries of the West to Communist expansion in Europe after the Second World War, and to the impasse that arose in the United Nations when, by the use of its veto in the Security Council, the Soviet Union obstructed Western efforts to make that organization an effective instrument for peace. Faced with the threat to their security and to the basis of their civilization, the Western powers resolved to group themselves in an alliance that would indicate clearly their determination to resist aggression, from whatever quarter it might come, and to maintain peace.

In the years since its inception, NATO has built up in Europe a formidable military force. This force is composed of contributions from member nations. At the outset it was planned that a large army of 90-100 divisions should be built up. For a number of reasons, both political and economic, this goal has never been achieved and it is unlikely that it will be in the future. To redress the balance of power, a family of tactical nuclear weapons have been employed. The existence of these tends



to neutralize any advantage a potential enemy might have through greater manpower. The NATO land force in Central Europe of approximately 28 divisions has a considerable capacity, although there are a number of critical deficiencies from the standpoint of reaching desired goals. This force is backed up by the striking power of the West's strategic forces, mainly the United States Strategic Air Command.

The United States Strategic Air Command is probably the most powerful and best organized military force in the history of the world. Supplemented now by the "Polaris" missile-firing submarines, it has adequate capacity to deliver nuclear weapons to strategic targets. Canada has assisted the operational effectiveness of this Command by providing refuelling bases, communications links and "overflight" privileges. We will continue to provide these facilities to the extent required.

At the same time that the free world has an adequate or better capacity in strategic forces, there remain demonstrable deficiencies in its conventional and tactical capacity in Europe. The doctrine of "measured response" requires a strengthening of conventional capacity in order to reduce the necessity for immediate or early use of nuclear force and to allow the time necessary for political consultation and decision. At the same time, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe has been given responsibility for military targets in his sector. This includes, of course, Soviet missile launchers posed against Western Europe. To meet this responsibility he has a requirement for additional tactical nuclear capacity.

Force goals for the alliance are set by negotiation and agreement between members of the alliance. In consultation with the Supreme Commander, individual countries decide the nature and extent of their contribution...

Canada has had a good record for fulfilling its defence commitments in NATO. Our contribution to the defensive strength of the alliance includes ships and maritime patrol aircraft earmarked for the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, an air division of eight, formerly 12, squadrons and an army division, of which one brigade group is stationed in Europe. These forces do not operate in isolation, but as part of larger integrated forces united for a common purpose.

### Maritime Forces

From the beginning of NATO, there was an apparent and pressing need for strong naval and maritime forces in the Atlantic. The Atlantic Council agreed that a separate command must be formed to preserve the integrity of the Atlantic Ocean and, in December 1950, the Council decided to appoint a Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic as soon as circumstances would permit. After much planning, the first international ocean command in peacetime was formed in January 1952, with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia.





To enable the NATO Atlantic Commander to carry out his peacetime duties, forces are periodically placed at his disposal for combined training. Unlike the Commander of the NATO forces in Europe, SACLANT has no permanently assigned forces; instead, he has to depend on forces earmarked for assignment to his command in an emergency. The reasoning for this arrangement is that the maritime powers of NATO maintain flexible naval forces and maritime air forces to protect their national interests on the high seas in time of peace. Such forces are highly mobile and it was decided, therefore, that the Atlantic maritime powers would maintain their own naval forces and maritime air forces in peacetime and transfer control of an agreed number of units to SACLANT on the declaration of an emergency.

By the end of 1959, Canada was able to provide one carrier and 29 escorts to be readily available to SACLANT for duty in the North Atlantic in the event of an emergency. In addition, 14 escorts stationed on the West Coast and 10 minesweepers were provided for the Canada-U.S. region.

In 1959, Canada approved the construction of a further six escort ships - the "Mackenzie" Class - to replace older vessels in commission, so that there would be no reduction in the naval commitment.

Technological improvements, aimed at increasing the anti-submarine effectiveness of our forces, have been steadily introduced. The conversion programme now under way for the seven "St. Laurent" Class ships includes the fitting of variable-depth sonar, together with the installation of a platform and operating facilities for an anti-submarine helicopter.

With the development of nuclear submarines, however, the problems of anti-submarine warfare have been greatly increased. As in other areas of advanced military technology, the "offence" is more effective than the "defence" at the present time. Increased importance is being given to research and development in anti-submarine devices. One new contribution to the pool of knowledge on this subject will be the development of a prototype hydrofoil craft which has just been authorized. It is but one of the options being studied with great interest by this department.

In addition to naval forces, Canada agreed that the RCAF should earmark 40 maritime patrol aircraft to SACLANT. "Lancaster" aircraft were joined for this assignment by "Neptunes" in the latter part of the 1950's, with the long-range "Argus" coming into service as a replacement for the former aircraft in 1959.

### Army

For some years the Canadian Army has maintained a brigade group in Europe. It is part of the Northern Army Group. Canada has also agreed to supply the balance of a division in the event hostilities should occur. The agreed time-lapse before the reserve brigade would be available, however, and the unavailability of





shipping brings into question the effectiveness of this "reserve" under conditions prevailing in any future war. A review seems warranted to determine whether the commitment should be changed or whether steps should be taken to substantially increase the "reality" of the reserve components in today's circumstances.

### Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force has maintained in Europe one air division. Until recently it consisted of 12 air-defence squadrons at four bases. In 1959 the Government of Canada agreed to change the role of the air division from air defence to strike reconnaissance and obtained the concurrence of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe to a reduction from 12 squadrons to eight. Each base will now accommodate two squadrons instead of three. This change was agreed to by SACEUR because the new aircraft, the CF104, is a very sophisticated aircraft which requires more technical support than the aircraft it replaces, and because of the demanding nature of the strike role. The strike role is one requiring the ability to drop atomic bombs on enemy military targets in the event of hostilities.

... This brings up the question of NATO nuclear policy. As far back as December 1955, the NATO ministerial meeting demonstrated the clear intention on the part of all member governments to see the Atlantic forces equipped with the most modern weapons. In 1957, the NATO Council stressed the fact that the U.S.S.R. was steadily proceeding with the development of its own nuclear armament. The foreign ministers affirmed the right of the alliance to the possession of modern arms necessary in its defence against aggression.

The heads of government, meeting in December of the same year, publicly confirmed the NATO decision to establish stocks of nuclear weapons which would be readily available for the defence of the alliance in case of need. Again, in February 1959, NATO authorities affirmed that, after the required bilateral agreements had been reached, the United States had delivered nuclear-capable weapons for the nuclear deterrent to NATO forces in Europe and that this transfer was being continued.

The dependence upon nuclear weapons against both strategic and tactical targets has been brought about for two basic reasons - the marked superiority in Soviet manpower vis-à-vis NATO forces in being, and the knowledge that the Soviets have similar weapons in operation. This dependence, however, has not reduced the requirement to increase the conventional capability of the alliance, but NATO authorities have never called for this requirement to be met at the expense of its nuclear capability. Thus, at the ministerial meeting in December of last year it was agreed "that it was necessary to increase the effectiveness of conventional forces", but it was also agreed "that adequate and balanced forces, both nuclear and conventional, were necessary to provide the alliance with the widest





possible range of response to whatever threat may be directed against its security". As members of the Committee are aware, at the recent meeting of ministers here in Ottawa it was agreed to establish an interallied nuclear force in NATO which was considered to be a measure leading to an increase in the effectiveness of the nuclear capability at the disposal of the alliance....

The acceptance by Canada of the strike role for the air division and the acquisition of the "Honest John" rocket for our brigade group in Europe has committed us to signing a bilateral agreement with the United States of America to permit the immediate availability of nuclear devices. This does not make us a member of the "Nuclear Club". It only fulfills the general undertaking given by us and other member countries at the heads-of-government meeting in December 1957 and the specific undertaking of Canada, in 1959, to accept the strike role. In signing a bilateral agreement, we will be doing what the majority of our NATO allies have already done and we will be implementing the commitment given to the NATO Council in 1959.

A number of questions have been raised about the strike role being truly "tactical" because of the ability of the weapons carrier, the CF104, to penetrate into enemy territory. The designation "tactical" is basically related to the type of target rather than to the weapons carrier used, although in common usage the range of the vehicle often does have a relation to target assignment. The targets which would be assigned to our air force are military targets only. This type of target could involve military bases (including dockyards and airfields), radar installations and military command and control centres, depots and dumps containing fuel or other supplies directly supporting enemy combat forces, key road, rail or waterway facilities used for supporting the combat area, etc. The yield of the bomb assigned would depend on the particular target, but in most of these cases would be relatively low-yield - a very small fraction of figures which have been used in the House and in the press. "Tactical" targets do not include population centres as such. Now, I am not suggesting that all civilian populations would be left untouched by the use of these tactical weapons, but I am saying that all targets assigned to the air division will be of direct and immediate significance to a possible battle in Allied Command Europe.

I know some Honourable Members are concerned about the moral aspects of these assignments. It is a matter of concern to all of us. As a member of NATO, we have agreed to a strategy of nuclear deterrence. As long as we remain a member of the alliance we cannot separate ourselves, morally, from the general policy. We rely on the protection of the Strategic Air Command and approve of its constant flights over our territory. Additionally, we have sold the uranium for most of the free world's arsenal and would, no doubt, sell more for military purposes if our friends were interested in buying it....



It is important to bear in mind that NATO is a defensive alliance and that the forces assigned to it in the European theatre are for defensive purposes. The more effective these forces are, the more credible is the deterrent to any aggression in that area.

### NORAD

In the fall of 1957, the North American Air Defence Command came into being. It is charged with the responsibility of protecting, in so far as that is possible, the North American land mass from attack by air. The headquarters of this command is located in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The commander-in-chief is U.S. General John K. Gerhart, and the deputy commander-in-chief is Canadian Air Marshal Roy Slemon.

To assist this command in its function, information is funnelled into its headquarters from a network of warning lines and control stations. These include the Pinetree radar system, roughly along the Canada-U.S. border, the Mid-Canada Line approximately along the 55th parallel, the Distant Early Warning Line along the northern periphery of the continent and the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, with stations in Alaska and Greenland and under construction in England.

These systems have been altered and augmented from time to time in accordance with changing requirements and circumstances. For example, it was agreed in 1959 that seven additional heavy radars should be constructed in Canada as reinforcement for the Pinetree Line. A number of exposed Semi-Automatic Ground Environment (SAGE) combat centres located on U.S. Strategic Air Command bases and considered redundant are being abandoned. A new hardened SAGE centre near North Bay is just nearing completion. Additional changes are contemplated.

The air threat to North America consists of long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's), submarine or ship-launched intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBM's), and manned bombers. At the moment there is no protection against ballistic missiles. The United States has under development an anti-missile missile known as the "Nike-Zeus", but no decision has been taken to put it into operational service largely because of the considerable cost involved. Development is continuing of potentially more effective means of anti-missile protection.

At this moment, the active air defence is limited to the anti-bomber field, and a considerable effort is expended in this direction. If members of the Committee recall statements I made when in opposition, you may wonder why I now support the use of some of our resources for this purpose. The opinions I expressed during the last few years were based on knowledge of the threat made available to us at that time -- 1959. The estimates have subsequently turned out to be incorrect. The rate of Soviet missile production anticipated at that time has not materialized.





In consequence the bomber threat remains at this date a very much larger proportion of the total threat than was expected. On the basis of present information I feel that active air defence is a proper demand on part of our resources.

Our contribution to the active air defence consists of a substantial participation in the radar warning lines, five squadrons of CF-101B ("Voodoo") interceptors, and two squadrons of "Bomarc" surface-to-air missiles.

At the outset Canadian authorities had noted that the initial U.S. plans for the installation of these missiles confined them completely within the bounds of the continental United States. Canadian comments on these U.S. plans expressed concern that this proposed deployment would result in conduct of the air battle over the most densely-populated areas of Canada, particularly in the area between Montreal and Toronto. The proposition was advanced that this undesirable situation could be easily rectified without any compromise to U.S. air defence by moving a small portion of the planned "Bomarc" deployment further northward. In particular, it was proposed that the two "Bomarc" squadrons programmed for a site in northern Michigan and another in northern New York State, just south of Montreal, should be deployed further north.

Meanwhile, the North American Air Defence Command had come into being and, operating through these channels, little difficulty was experienced in persuading the U.S. to locate the northern Michigan squadron to North Bay, Ontario, and the northern New York State squadron to La Macaza, P.Q. From the NORAD point of view, this deployment was desirable not only because it moved the defence line outward toward the periphery of the ground-radar system, but also the two "Bomarc" squadrons, previously programmed for location at SAC bases in the U.S.A., were moved to more isolated locations.

Many of the early tests of the "Bomarc" were not successful, and it was also subject to electronic counter measures. Consequently, a number of observers, myself included, were extremely critical. More recently the defects have been solved and a device has been developed to overcome the effects of electronic counter measures. It is now an effective anti-bomber weapon - as good as anything we have available. Like Mr. McNamara, the U.S. Defense Secretary, I believe that after approximately \$3 billion has been invested in the "Bomarc" system, practically all by the United States, the effectiveness of the system is sufficient to justify the maintenance costs involved.

In order to be effective, however, the "Bomarc" must be armed with an atomic warhead. No conventional warhead exists and none was ever developed. The advantage of the nuclear warhead is twofold. First, it has a good "kill" capacity, in that a direct hit is not required. Second, the bomb or bombs carried by the attacking bomber can be rendered harmless by "cooking". If a high explosive warhead was available it might bring down the bomber but the resulting explosion from the bombs being carried would be devastating in comparison.





It is expected that enemy bombs are designed with "dead-man" fuzes. These fuzes permit the bombs to detonate on impact even though the aircraft or other device which is carrying them has been shot down in flames or has disintegrated in the air. There is, therefore, considerable advantage in the use of nuclear air defence warheads, which will kill the weapon and not just the carrier.

In all, there are more than 40 regular fighter-interceptor squadrons in the NORAD system, of which five are the recently re-equipped RCAF CF-101B squadrons. The CF-101B "Voodoo" aircraft are designed to carry both conventional and atomic air-to-air missiles. At present the Canadian squadrons are armed with the conventional missiles only. The advantages of having atomic missiles available are obvious, since the "kill" capacity of the "Genie" atomic rocket is several times greater than that of the conventional "Falcon" rocket.

The bilateral agreement now being negotiated with the United States will permit the stockpiling in Canada of nuclear devices to be immediately available in an emergency. It should be remembered that these weapons are purely defensive. They do not constitute a threat to other nations. NORAD forces go into defensive action only after absolute proof is established that the North American continent is under attack by aggressor forces.

Another point, the "Voodoo" interceptors would not be flying round during day-to-day operations with nuclear rockets aboard. Normal training and operational interceptions would be done, as they are by the USAF, with aircraft equipped with high explosive -- not atomic -- rockets.

The nuclear-equipped Canadian interceptors would only take off under the authority of the Canadian government subsequent to the release of the weapons themselves by the President of the United States. Similarly, the "Bomarc" could not be fired without the prior approval of both the U.S. and the Canadian Governments. And, I repeat, both weapons systems would only be put into action if North America was under attack.

### United Nations

It is an important aspect of Canadian defence and foreign policy to support the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Apart from UN action in Korea, Canada, over the years, has undertaken a number of military commitments to the United Nations. In November 1956, the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East was formed to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities between Israel and Egypt. Since the inception of this force, Canada has made a major contribution of Canadian Army personnel and has furnished an air-transport unit operated by the RCAF. At the present time, there are over 800 members of the Canadian Army and some 80 RCAF personnel serving in UNEF. It should be noted here that we recently agreed to contribute to the





UN force -- made up, in part, from personnel in UNEF --, which is being sent to Yemen in an effort to stabilize conditions in that country.

In accordance with the Security Council Resolution of July 14, 1960, the Canadian Government approved a request by the Secretary-General for the provision of a signals unit to provide communications facilities for the United Nations headquarters in the Congo, and the first Canadian element arrived in that country in August of that year. In addition to signals personnel, we also supply a small number of staff officers at United Nations headquarters, a provost section operating under the direction of this headquarters, and representatives of the RCAF are in the Congo in support of United Nations air operations.

The RCAF supplies aircraft for personnel and equipment not only to and from Egypt, but also for our forces in the Congo. At the present time there are some 280 Army and 24 Air Force personnel in the Congo.

Canadian servicemen also form part of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization in Palestine. The duty of this team is to observe and maintain the cease-fire ordered by the United Nations Council in 1949 and to assist the parties to the General Armistice Agreements in the supervision of the terms of the General Armistice Agreements concluded severally between the Governments of Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria on one hand and Israel on the other. There are a total of 18 Canadian Army officers on this team.

The United Nations Military Observer Group was formed as the result of a resolution by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in August 1948. The Military Observer Group is made up of representatives from various countries and, of the total 35 officers involved, Canada supplies eight.

Although the truce team in Indochina is not under United Nations control, it is, I think, related to the peace-keeping operations of that organization. The Truce Commission is composed of representatives from Canada, India and Poland and has been functioning continuously since 1954 under the terms agreed to by the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. There are at the moment 75 representatives of the Canadian Army, two from the RCN and two from the RCAF in Indochina.

In addition to the Canadians serving abroad on behalf of the United Nations, since September 1960 an army battalion has been available in Canada for United Nations service. Plans have been made and exercises have taken place in order that this battalion could be provided on short notice in the event of a request being received. The 1st Battalion, Royal 22nd Regiment, has been designated as the main element of the group. This battalion took over the responsibility from the 2nd Battalion, the Royal Canadian Regiment, in April 1961.





From time to time suggestions have been made that we should turn over part of our armed forces to the UN. To date there has been no inclination on the part of the UN to accept this kind of offer, and the maintenance of a standby battalion which would be available if required seems to be the best alternative in these circumstances.

### Canadian Defence Policy

As I said at the outset, Canadian defence policy is an extension of our foreign policy. We provide contributions to the collective defence of the free world and to the maintenance of peace. Our contributions are pooled with those of other nations through the agencies of NATO, NORAD and the United Nations.

Our contributions at this time are those which have been agreed to in the past. They are as I have set them out for you. It is the policy of the Government to make effective those weapons systems which have been acquired as part of the Canadian contribution, including making immediately available nuclear devices required to make our contribution credible. Furthermore, it is the policy of the Government to undertake a thorough review of our defence policy and commitments in order to determine the best and most effective contribution we can make to the collective defence of the free world and to the maintenance of peace in the years ahead.

In order to facilitate the review, certain action has been taken. All major procurement programmes are being reconsidered. In particular, any procurement programme which would tend to limit future policy or interfere with the exercise of future options is being carefully reviewed.

One of these programmes is the General Purpose Frigate Programme. It is a project involving the expenditure of large sums of money. For this reason all present and likely future options have to be carefully considered before proceeding.

Another major programme under review is the acquisition of additional CF-104 aircraft for "backup" to the eight squadrons being formed in Europe. We are considerably concerned about the effectiveness of the four squadrons to be located on the two French bases at Marville and Grostenquin. As members of the Committee know, the French Government has so far not permitted the stockpiling of nuclear weapons for NATO on its territory. In consequence, the weapons for the four squadrons would not be readily at hand, and those aircraft to be maintained on quick-reaction alert would have to be deployed to other bases. This raises the further question of vulnerability. In view of these problems, it is considered desirable to review at once the alternatives which may be available now or in the future. The CF-104 is specially designed for the strike role and does not readily lend itself to other employment. Consequently, we intend to carefully review the question before proceeding with any additional procurement.





To assist in the review of current procurement programmes and in the consideration of future policy, a special advisory group has been set up in the Department under the chairmanship of Dr. R.J. Sutherland, Chief of Operational Research in the Defence Research Board. This group has undertaken a number of studies intended to demonstrate the reasons for and against a particular course of action and to list the available options. It does not make recommendations. This committee, which has been functioning for some weeks now, reports directly to the Minister.

As soon as a review of existing procurement programmes is complete and decisions taken, which I hope will be within a few weeks, the general review of future policy will commence. It is intended that it will be a most thoroughgoing study. We will consider not only the best tasks and contributions which Canada can make in future years but also how they can be most efficiently organized. The recommendations of the Glassco Commission are being studied and will be considered in the context of future policy. The relations between our forces and those of our allies will be considered. In this connection I am pleased that General Lemnitzer, the new Supreme Allied Commander Europe, will pay a visit to Ottawa on July 23, and that we will have the opportunity to discuss mutual problems. It is also fortunate that the general review of NATO strategy being undertaken by the Standing Group will be going ahead simultaneously with our own studies. This should greatly facilitate our appreciation of future requirements of the alliance and the best use of available resources to meet those requirements. An interim report by the Standing Group is expected to be available in time for the ministers' meeting in December. Assuming this to be the case, it is hoped that notwithstanding the considerable scope and magnitude of our studies we will be in a position to reach conclusions early in the New Year. I am sure that the views of this Committee will be most helpful in assisting us to determine the best role for Canada to play in future years....

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S/c

JAN 13 1964



## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

*Canada* DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/16

Statement by the Honourable Paul Martin,  
Secretary of State for External Affairs,  
to the Special Committee on Defence of  
the House of Commons on July 25, 1963.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I welcome the opportunity to outline to you the relationship between the defence policy and the foreign policy of the Canadian Government, and the means whereby the necessary co-ordination between the two is sought to be accomplished. The very fact that you have seen fit to invite me to appear before the Committee is an indication of your awareness that the foreign and defence policy of this nation are inseparable. Indeed, in the nuclear age this is true of all states, since their foreign and defence policies have but a single objective -- the preservation of peace.

Mr. Pearson, the present Prime Minister, speaking before the Air Force Veterans' Association in November 1959, aptly described defence as follows:

"...defence now means the exercise of wise and far-sighted diplomacy; reliance, not on national strength alone, but on collective policy and action inside a coalition like NATO; keeping our economies strong and free and healthy; helping those under-developed countries who are now emerging into the modern age and who will largely determine by the way they do it, whether the future on this planet is to be one of conflict or co-operation. It means also defence of the deepest, highest values of our life and civilization, against those forces of disruption and debasement which challenge and threaten them from within...

"...defence now is the preventing of wars through the solution of international problems by pacific means, the strengthening of free, democratic society and the promotion of co-operation and friendship between all peoples."

Now, Mr. Chairman, that description, with its accent on the preventive nature of defence policy, is a far cry from the role of armed forces in yesteryears. Gone are the days when there was truth in the maxim that armed forces take over when





diplomacy fails. This once hallowed dogma has ceased to have validity today for two principal reasons:

In the first place, major military power is no longer held physically in rear areas to be sent out only when peaceful negotiation fails. Today's system of alliances and their integrated commands together with long-range striking power at constant alert have brought military forces to forward positions on the main fronts of international tension. In the new circumstances of more or less permanent confrontation of major military power, the extent to which co-ordination of foreign and defence policy becomes imperative is obvious.

Secondly, it is no longer possible to rationalize major war as an instrument for the attainment of political ends...for the traditional concepts of victor and vanquished have been overtaken by technological advances in the art of war. In an age when the principal military powers each possess many times over the destructive power of all the weapons used in all previous wars, and have the means to deliver it so dispersed and so well protected that neither could escape unacceptable damage in a thermonuclear exchange, no matter who should initiate it, the principal purpose of the armed forces of all responsible powers has become one of deterring rather than winning major wars, and of containing small ones by the graduated application of the minimum force needed to restore order. The important developments in recent days which have been taking place in Moscow are evidence that the major nuclear powers at least are beginning to accept the essentials of deterrence as I have described it. By the same token the aims of defence policy become the more clearly identical with the main purpose of foreign policy -- the preservation of peace.

There are of course other objectives of foreign policy -- to promote trade, to protect national interests abroad, to project a favourable image abroad and the like -- but it is self-evident that such objectives can be pursued only in a world free of war.

We saw in the Second World War how all other interests had to be set aside and subordinated to the one end -- the restoration of peace. But think how much more imperative is the need to preserve that peace in an era when meaningful victory would elude even the strongest powers. My colleague the Minister of National Defence in his statement on June 27 stated that defence policy was an extension of foreign policy, and that is true in the sense that national external objectives no longer can be determined, as they were in earlier periods of history, by the degree of military force that could be brought to bear. I prefer, however, to look upon foreign and defence policies -- and indeed, foreign economic policy as well -- all as inseparable elements in the conduct of Canada's external relations. Indeed, NATO itself offers a striking example of the extent to which the foreign and defence policies of the entire Western world are indissolubly linked, for it is in the NATO Council in permanent session (and from time to time in ministerial session) that the defence policies which guide the vast apparatus of the alliance are continuously harmonized with the foreign policy objectives of the alliance itself.





I must first outline what I regard as the main factors which determine the foreign policy of an established middle power such as Canada. I believe that to be an honest appraisal of where Canada stands in a world in which there are two super-powers, a handful of what might be called great powers -- those that have recognized world responsibilities or have pretensions to world influence,--and at the other end of the scale a vast array of newly-independent and economically under-developed countries.

We have no need to pursue certain aims peculiar to super and great powers, and others that animate the less fortunate countries. We do not have to support a vast network of international alliances or pursue expansionist policies in respect of territory or resources. Our aims are less finite, less tangible and in some ways more difficult to define.

### Major Foreign Policy Determinants

Our foreign policy, like that of most other countries, is a product of many fixed factors which condition our responses to the shifting international scene -- factors such as our history, our legal traditions, our resources, our racial composition and our geographical location.

Historically, we are a country which evolved non-violently from colony to nation -- a background which has given us a strong belief in independence and orderly ending of colonial rule and a preference for evolution over revolution as the method. It has given us strong ties with two major European powers, Britain and France, and, as others have followed our constitutional example, a belief in the Commonwealth as an institution. Our history has made us internationally-minded from the date of our birth nearly 100 years ago, conscious always of being a member of a world-wide grouping of peace-loving states.

In our traditions we have inherited British precepts of law and parliamentary government blended with the French system of codification, which have made us instinctive and strong advocates of the rule of law on an international scale. These legacies have affected our attitude towards observance of treaties, and other instruments such as the International Court of Justice for regulating relations between states in an orderly and civilized way, and, above all, have made us strong advocates of the United Nations, the main vehicle through which the international family of nations is striving, for the second time, to give expression to the universal desire for an ordered and peaceful world.

In resources, we are well enough blessed that we need have no external territorial ambitions. Indeed, the fact that we have productive capacity in excess of the needs of our population has made us world traders with a profound interest in the freest possible international exchange of goods under sensible international regulation of tariff levels and conservation measures. The size of the excess of our resources over our needs has enhanced our international influence as a major world trader.





Our geographical location in the northern and physically less hospitable half of this continent has probably condemned us in perpetuity to a comparatively small population in relation to territory and perhaps in relation to our neighbour. It has, at the same time, deprived us of all neighbours but one, and that one the most powerful nation on earth. While other nations face problems of relations with a multiplicity of neighbours, often hostile, we are more fortunate and, in truth, because of the disparity in size, Canada could not subsist in freedom adjacent to a hostile United States. Friendly co-operation with our closest neighbour and largest trading partner is a basic requirement of Canadian foreign policy, both for economic and security reasons. At the same time, we are a political entity, both in cultural composition and traditions of government. The objective in our relations with the United States must always be to reconcile the preservation of those interests which are the essence of our sovereign individuality with the need for friendly co-operation in an interdependent continent and world.

Finally, and perhaps more important, our cultural make-up exerts a profound effect on our foreign policy. With our two basic cultures, to which many new influences have been added through immigration, we have enduring ties of blood and language with Europe which cause us instinctively to look across the Atlantic to our cultural origins. Domestically, our own biculturalism has given us tolerance and an ability to compromise and adjust. It is this national experience which has given Canada a fundamental belief in the effectiveness of mediation, negotiation and patient accommodation in the international field.

All of these factors have combined to make Canada a law-abiding international nation, with a strong instinct to see the relations between states regulated in the same orderly way that our internal affairs are run. Despite an excellent record in war, we are internationally recognized as a peaceful state. The fact that others do recognize these qualities in us in part prescribes our role in international affairs, for we are often sought out to perform duties where fair-mindedness and an absence of international ambition are the desired criteria.

### Transitory Factors

These, then, in broad outline, are the factors constantly affecting our external attitude both politically and militarily. But there are other factors, more transitory in nature, which of necessity exert great influence upon us. By these I mean those major international forces currently at work which determine the circumstances in which Canada must play out its international role. In the post-war period, I identify three such dominant factors.

- (1) the breakdown of the co-operation of the wartime allies and the emergence in its place of a power struggle between the conflicting ideologies of international Communism and Western democracy;





- (2) what I would call the nuclear equipoise -- the development by two powers of the ability to wipe out civilization (as I have indicated, this development is in the process of revolutionizing the role of war as an instrument of policy);
- (3) what Prime Minister Nehru called "the revolution of rising expectations" (this embraces not only the vast movement towards independence which has marked the decline of the colonial era but also the ever more insistent demands of less-developed nations for a higher standard of living).

It may not be immediately apparent how all of these factors influence our defence policy, but I believe all the Members will see how they bear on our foreign policy, from which our defence posture is inseparable.

I should like to briefly state, without particular order of priority, some of the main aspects of Canadian foreign policy as they have developed over the last 10 to 15 years. I then propose to describe the inter-departmental machinery used by the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence to co-operate in carrying out the policies of the Government.

In the knowledge that Canada could not alone defend itself and in face of the Soviet threat that developed after World War II, Canada has subscribed to the principle of collective security; hence we became a charter member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and we have co-operated with the U.S.A. in the defence of North America. Canada has, in addition, been a firm supporter of the United Nations and, as international peace-keeping machinery has developed, both inside and outside the UN, we have taken a full share in providing the necessary forces to carry out this international responsibility. We have always believed in the vital necessity of reducing and eliminating the means of waging war and we have become increasingly concerned about the trend towards an unrestricted arms race; for this reason, successive Canadian Governments have played an active part in the search for meaningful agreements in the fields of disarmament, arms control and nuclear testing. As a senior member of the Commonwealth, we have maintained close relations with its newer members and, as part of our policy of helping these new countries, we have worked out with certain of them arrangements for technical military training and aid. This is a formidable list of responsibilities, and I would ask you to remember that Canada is not a major power and that what we are able to do is necessarily limited by our financial and manpower resources.

#### External Affairs and Defence

It is in these areas of U.S.-Canadian defence co-operation, NATO, international peace-keeping, disarmament and Commonwealth aid that there is a close working relationship between the Departments of National Defence and External Affairs. Before describing





how this works, I should like to say a brief word about the specific responsibility of External Affairs in the defence field. Ultimate responsibility for defence policy rests with the Cabinet as the executive authority of government for all decisions relating to defence questions. There is also the Cabinet Defence Committee, which considers defence questions and reports to the Cabinet on major matters of defence policy. The Prime Minister acts as Chairman of this Committee, and both the Minister of National Defence and myself are members of it. The Department of External Affairs, through myself as Secretary of State for External Affairs, has general responsibility for advising the Government and implementing action, where necessary, on the foreign-policy implications of defence arrangements. Specifically, the Department of External Affairs:

- (1) co-ordinates and advises on the preparation of international defence agreements;
- (2) co-ordinates and advises on the implementation of certain specific defence agreements;
- (3) advises on the effects of Canadian defence policy generally as it relates to other governments.

To carry out these responsibilities within the Department, we have Defence Liaison Divisions, which, in consultation with the political and functional divisions of the Department, deal with NATO matters, Canada-U.S. defence problems, co-ordination of intelligence, international peace-keeping both under UN auspices and otherwise and technical military assistance to newly-independent countries. A separate Disarmament Division is responsible for liaison with the Department of National Defence and for co-ordination of instructions to Canada's Disarmament Delegation. These responsibilities are co-ordinated through an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs responsible to me through the Under-Secretary.

If Canada is to have foreign and defence policy commensurate with its national requirements and capabilities, the Government must be able to work from a given and agreed set of facts. For the defence department of a country to base policies on one set of facts and the foreign office of that country to base policies on another is bound to lead to utter confusion, and it has been the practice of Canadian Governments, particularly since the end of World War II, to ensure that foreign and defence policy are based on agreed intelligence. Agreed intelligence and intelligence policy are the responsibility of inter-departmental committees on which sit representatives of the armed services, the Defence Research Board, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Department of External Affairs. The chairmanship of these committees is provided by the Department of External Affairs. Further details on this aspect of co-operation are of necessity classified but I can tell you that it works well.





I turn now to a description of the machinery of inter-departmental co-operation in the various areas where Canada has specific defence and foreign policy commitments.

### NATO Hierarchy

The highest authority in NATO is the Council, which is organized to meet at the level of ministers or permanent representatives. Ministerial meetings occur usually twice a year, the most recent being in Ottawa, but permanent representatives usually meet on a regular weekly basis and otherwise as often as circumstances dictate. The permanent delegates in Paris speak for their governments in the NATO Council and the Canadian NATO delegation is in the charge of a senior member of the Department of External Affairs with the rank of ambassador, at present Mr. George Ignatieff. He has serving under him a senior military adviser, a number of officers from the Department of External Affairs, as well as representatives from other departments dealing with such matters as defence production, the financial aspects of Canadian defence commitments to NATO, emergency planning and scientific co-operation and research.

Important matters of military policy that have been approved by the Military Committee of NATO come before the Council from time to time and instructions to our NATO delegation on such questions require close co-ordination between National Defence and External Affairs. The Council, as the supreme body of the alliance, is itself, concerned with strategic policy and overall defence planning and, in recent years particularly, the Council has concerned itself with the problems that arise from operational planning and control of the nuclear forces available to the alliance. At the Ottawa meeting the NATO ministers directed the Council in permanent session to undertake further studies of the interrelated questions of strategy, force requirements and the resources available to meet them, and the Council is now beginning this major review. Canadian views on these politico-military questions are sent to the NATO delegation regularly in the form of telegraphic instructions. The instructions themselves are the product of consultation between the Department of External Affairs and the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, who is responsible in the Department of National Defence for advising the Minister on policies relating to NATO.

To carry out the day-to-day work of the alliance, there are numerous NATO committees and the provision of instructions to the Canadian delegates to these committees requires close inter-departmental co-operation in Ottawa. Examples that come to mind out of the 20-odd such committees that exist are the Annual Review Committee, the Armaments Committee, the Science Committee, the Infrastructure and Military Budget Committees. The general rule in Ottawa is that the department or service primarily concerned is responsible for drafting instructions to the delegation, and the Department of External Affairs is responsible for co-ordination and ensuring that the instructions are compatible with Canadian foreign





policy before despatching them to our delegation. The foreign policies of the member states are, of course, harmonized to the greatest possible extent through continuous consultation in the Permanent Council.

Another important aspect of Canada's NATO programme is mutual aid. Since 1950 Canada has provided over \$1.75 billion to member nations of NATO in the form of transfers of equipment from production or service stocks, aircrew training in Canada, and financial contributions to NATO common infrastructure and military budgets. The responsibility for providing the aid rests with the Department of National Defence and the policy questions relating to who should get what aid and the negotiation of the arrangements under which the aid is to be provided are matters on which the Department of External Affairs advises.

Canadian co-operation with the United States in the defence of North America has acquired added significance because of our unique geographic position, placing on Canada a responsibility to help to protect the U.S. nuclear-deterrent forces which are the final guarantor of the security of the Western alliance. As the House has been informed, we are now negotiating an agreement with the United States to make available nuclear warheads to make effective the weapons systems already acquired by the Canadian armed forces. The Department of External Affairs has primary responsibility for negotiating such an agreement, although naturally we rely for expert advice on the Department of National Defence. In the negotiation of defence agreements and where consultation on the implementation of agreements on policy questions arise, the normal diplomatic channels between the Department of External Affairs and the Embassy in Washington or between the Department and the U.S. Embassy here are available and are often heavily engaged in such matters.

In addition, the Department of External Affairs is represented on those inter-governmental bodies on defence which deal with more than the purely military aspects of defence questions. One such body is the Ministerial Committee on Joint Defence. In 1958, the United States and Canada agreed that the importance and complexity of interdependent defence relations made it essential to supplement existing channels for consultation and to provide for a periodic review at the ministerial level. It was envisaged that this review would include not only military questions but also the political and economic aspects of joint defence problems. The Committee consists on the U.S. side of the Secretaries of State, Defence and Treasury and, on the Canadian side, of the Ministers of External Affairs, National Defence and Finance. The last meeting of this Committee was held in 1960, but, as the Prime Minister and President Kennedy announced at Hyannis Port, a meeting will be held in the latter part of this year probably, but the date has not been fixed.

I do hope -- if I may say by way of parenthesis -- that this Committee of ministers from both countries in this particular field would be able to meet some time around the early part of





December. And I might add that the other committee of ministers from both countries, dealing with economic and trade matters, I hope would meet sometime between 8 and 25 September or, if not then, some time -- I would hope -- between September 8 and the early part of October.

#### Permanent Joint Board on Defence

Supplementing the Ministerial Committee is the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, which has been in existence since the Ogdensburg Declaration of August 1940. The Board comprises both civilian and military representatives and thus permits open and frank presentation on a thrice-yearly basis of the civilian and military viewpoints of both countries on current defence questions. The board comprises a Canadian and a U.S. Section. The Chairman of the Canadian Section is Mr. Dana L. Wilgress, a distinguished Canadian public servant who, before he retired from the Department of External Affairs, was Canada's Permanent Representative to NATO. In addition, the Vice-Chiefs of Staff of the three services are members and there is also a member and secretary provided by the Department of External Affairs. For some years, representatives of the Departments of Transport and Defence Production have attended Board meetings. Where it is desirable, each section may have in attendance for particular meetings representatives of other government departments. Over its 23 years of existence, practically all of the important joint defence measures taken since 1940 were originally discussed in the Board and many of them resulted from the Board's recommendations, and made by the Board.

The Board is a wholly advisory body, and does not have the authority to enforce decisions or to take implementing action on substantive matters.

Disarmament and defence are sides of the same coin, in that they are alternative routes to national security. It is evident that the requirements of our national defence have an important bearing on the positions we take in international discussions on disarmament. In the long term, the alternative to disarmament would be increased competition in armaments and ever-larger military budgets, without any lasting guarantee of peace and mutual security. It is for this reason that Canada must continue to work for the adoption of a programme of comprehensive disarmament under effective international control. We believe that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee provides a satisfactory forum for discussing specific disarmament proposals, and that Canada -- as a member of that Committee -- can best contribute to maintaining progress in these discussions by assisting in the formulation of realistic Western proposals.

At the same time we have to recognize that until there has been a substantial degree of actual disarmament -- with a parallel increase in the peace-keeping capabilities of the United Nations -- Canadian security will depend primarily on collective defence within NATO and under NORAD. But, just as it is important to ensure that our national policies on defence and disarmament are compatible





with one another, it is equally necessary that a similar balance of aims be achieved in the Western alliance as a whole -- and Canada can, I believe, help to bring this about in the course of regular consultations as we do within the North Atlantic Council.

I need hardly point out to Members of the Committees how important it is for our activities in these two closely-related fields to be fully and effectively co-ordinated between the various government departments concerned.

The Disarmament Division of External Affairs maintains regular contact with the Defence Research Board and the Directorate of Strategic Studies of the Department of National Defence on research into the technical aspects of disarmament as well as on disarmament policy generally. General E.L.M. Burns is the adviser to the Canadian Government on disarmament and has responsibility for the direction of general operations and research projects, as well as being head of the Canadian delegation to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva, whose session will shortly be resumed. The disarmament delegation under General Burns consists of officers from the Department of External Affairs and a military adviser from National Defence. In Ottawa it is the function of the Disarmament Division and the Directorate of Strategic Studies to assist General Burns in carrying out his responsibility as Adviser on Disarmament to the Government.

We have over the years assumed a variety of international peace-keeping responsibilities. I know that my colleague, Mr. Hellyer, mentioned these in his statement, and I would like to amplify them. We took part in the United Nations action in Korea and in the United Nations force in West New Guinea and, as you will have learned from the Chiefs of Staff, Canadian armed-forces personnel at this time are serving on the Jordan and Syrian borders, the Gaza Strip, the Congo, whose operations are soon coming to an end, the International Commissions in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, Kashmir and the Yemen.

Co-operation in these operations between the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence is essential, but formal advance planning for them is very difficult. We can never know, I suppose, when a request will be received from the United Nations nor for what type of personnel. My colleague, the Minister of National Defence, has already mentioned the army battalion which has been earmarked for United Nations service since 1956. Yet it has never been asked for and, instead, we have provided a reconnaissance squadron, administrative troops and the RCAF personnel for the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza, observers for Kashmir, Palestine and Indochina, specialized Air Force personnel for the Congo and the Yemen and signallers for the Congo. Operations in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are, of course, not United Nations operations.





Let me describe what happens when a request is received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as it recently was in the case of Yemen, for Canadian help in a peace-keeping operation. Because of the experience that has now been built up, the request itself will be fairly specific for the Secretary-General and his military advisers will have discussed what Canada might be able to provide with the Canadian Delegation in New York, to which is attached a military adviser. On receiving the request, a joint submission from the Minister of National Defence and myself may be made to Cabinet asking for Government approval to provide the required personnel and equipment for the operation. If Cabinet agrees, the Department of National Defence is responsible for selecting the appropriate personnel and equipment and sending them to the area concerned, while External Affairs is responsible for negotiating conditions of service, making any necessary arrangements with the country or countries to which the service personnel will be posted and providing any diplomatic assistance that may be necessary on the spot through the appropriate mission.

In United Nations peace-keeping operations policy direction is given by the Secretary-General, sometimes assisted, as in the case of the Congo, by an advisory committee representing the contributing powers. Canada is represented on the Congo Advisory Committee by the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations. In the case of the Indochina Commissions, which do not come under the United Nations, instructions regarding implementation of the cease-fire agreements are sent from External Affairs to the three Canadian Commissioners.

We have always been interested in the evolution of the various ad hoc UN operations into more permanent peace-keeping machinery, but we recognize that this is still some years away. Meanwhile, the best we can do is to be adequately prepared and sufficiently flexible to meet a UN request with the minimum of delay. In international peace-keeping, no two cases are the same, and close co-operation between civilian and military departments is the only answer. What is the same in all cases, however, is the calibre of the Canadian service personnel and the excellent job they do even under extremely difficult circumstances, as is the case in Laos and in Yemen. One of the prime reasons that Canada has been asked time and again to help in these problems is because of the high professional standards and ready adaptability of the members of the Canadian armed services, and I should like to pay my tribute to them. As the Chief of Staff has already told you, they make excellent ambassadors for Canada. Another reason for our frequent selection for this task is that by tacit consent, the great powers usually do not participate and the UN Secretary-General looks to the ranks of the broadly respected middle powers to fulfil this function.

#### The Commonwealth

To assist newer members of the Commonwealth in establishing a well-trained nucleus from which they can build their armed forces to guarantee their own independence, we have undertaken a certain





amount of military training. This training can take place here in Canada or in the Commonwealth country concerned. The most ambitious programme in Canada is the training of Nigerian army, navy and air-force cadets, as well as some technical personnel. Nigeria formally asked Canada for training aid in 1961 and the arrangements under which Canadian aid is provided were formalized in a technical-assistance agreement on military training signed in Lagos this year. Similar training has been given to personnel from Trinidad and Tobago and we expect arrangements to be made in the near future for the training of cadets from Ghana; and I have discussed only recently with representatives of other governments in Africa similar processes for them.

In June 1961, the Canadian Government agreed to a request from Ghana to dispatch a team of approximately 30 officers and men to assist the training of the officer corps and technicians of Ghana's armed forces. This team arrived in late 1961 and now serves at the military academy and training school, the air-force training centre and the air-force flying-training school. The Canadian Armed Forces Training Team is led by a senior Canadian officer who acts both as liaison officer between the Team and the Ghanaian authorities and as military adviser to the Canadian High Commissioner in Accra.

The only equipment assistance that has been given to Commonwealth countries is the aid that has been provided by Canada to India to assist that country in meeting the threat that has developed from China on the northern border. Otherwise, Canadian exports of arms are effected by commercial transactions tightly controlled and licensed to ensure that the arms are not sold to countries in areas where tension exists.

I have dealt at some length with the machinery of co-operation between the Department of External Affairs and Department of National Defence because I want to make clear to the Committee the close interrelationship that has developed and will continue to develop between foreign and defence policy, and to point up how necessary is close co-operation between our military and civilian authorities. A prime example of this interrelationship is the National Defence College. This college was established after World War II to give officers of the Canadian armed services, members of civilian government departments and from time to time representatives from key industries an opportunity to work together in examining global political, military and economic developments. The students at the National Defence College are expected to hold senior positions in later years in government departments and in the armed services, and there is no doubt that the broadening experience they receive at the National Defence College and the chance to work together make them more useful in their future careers. The College has a Commandant drawn from the armed services and a directing staff made up of representatives from National Defence and External Affairs. The Department of External Affairs is responsible for arranging, through the Canadian diplomatic missions abroad, for the National Defence College to pay visits to various parts of the world as part of its course of study.





I should like to add that, this morning, before coming here, I spent some time with the members of the NATO Defence College, who are here in Canada as they have been in other NATO member countries. This organization is predicated somewhat on the experience of our own National Defence College. It similarly hopes to emulate the Imperial Defence College. It is made up of senior officers who come from all of the NATO countries and who are in Canada to learn about Canada, its problems, its foreign and its defence policy.

Before I conclude my statement I wish to say something to the Committee about the concern I have had for some time past about the need to improve the co-ordination and planning of government foreign, economic and defence policy. May I remind you of what I said in another capacity in the House of Commons last January 24:

"One striking fact it seems to me in international affairs today is the interrelatedness of a nation's defence policy, its foreign economic policy and its over-all policy. These three areas, which in the past we have tended to look upon separately, now must be considered all together. Indeed, the continued nature of this interrelatedness has major implications, as I see it, for our own foreign policy, particularly in the area of planning and co-ordinating of our own efforts and our own policies. Perhaps we should be considering some alterations. Do we have over-all planning and co-ordination of effort in the Government at the present time which gives its total attention to a particular problem in external relations and is continually casting its eye up and down the radar screen looking for problems in areas where Canada can exert an influence? The diplomatic influence and effectiveness of a nation is a total process, a composite whole, in which our political conduct, the state of our alliances, the amount of foreign assistance which we give, our military power, our domestic economic situation, operate all together."

The Canadian Government is now committed to a national review of defence policy and to a NATO defence review which will require the direct collaboration between the Departments of External Affairs, Finance and National Defence. My colleagues and I are now examining ways and means of improving inter-departmental co-operation. Neither foreign policy nor defence policy can remain static in the nuclear age and we must always be searching for improvements to the policies and the ways they are carried out. As I said in January:

"We need to be constantly re-examining our foreign-policy objectives, constantly querying the means by which these objectives are carried out. Let us not exaggerate our achievement, but let us bear in mind that in this difficult period there must be stated goals of foreign policy carefully adhered to, respected by all branches of the Government, the Defence Department as well as the Department of External Affairs."





It has not been difficult throughout most of the post-war period to define the main goals of Canadian foreign policy. We have been living under a massive threat from militant Communism in circumstances of Cold War which robbed the United Nations of its ability to perform its main peace-keeping operations under Article 43 of the Charter. Clearly, our first duty has been to help maintain the peace through collective-security arrangements, and this we have done through playing our full part in NATO and NORAD consistent with our resources. It represents our contribution to the deterrent which has successfully kept a precarious peace while time and internal developments in the Communist world could work towards a more stable basis for international relations.

In this same period of dangerous confrontation between major military alliances, we have worked steadfastly to reduce and ultimately to bring under firm control the means for waging annihilating major wars. This we have done through our active participation in New York and in Geneva in the work of successive disarmament conferences, recognizing that there was no ultimate security in an unrestricted arms race and that balanced, phased disarmament was an alternative and less costly route to the same end. Our support for an end of nuclear testing under adequate safeguards and for limitations on the dissemination of nuclear weapons should be seen as respectively qualitative and quantitative controls aimed at reducing war-making capacity.

At the same time, and in this same period, there has been an urgent need to improve the international means of dealing with limited wars and regional disputes, and otherwise developing the means for the peaceful settlement of potentially dangerous conflicts. Here our support for the United Nations both in its mediation functions and in its peace-keeping roles has been the main vehicle for Canadian action.

It has been reasonably obvious up to now that the main emphasis in our foreign and defence policies had to be on practical measures of collective security since it would have been foolhardy indeed to rely excessively on the fragile international experiment in international peace-keeping.

But the nature of the threat is in transition. Under the umbrella of mutual deterrence, the major nations have been groping towards a move civilized relationship. The contest will go on, but its arena will be increasingly in the ideological and trade spheres, with much attention being paid to winning the support of less-developed countries. In our anxiety to make our best contribution to international peace and stability, the West must not overlook the second major force of instability in the world -- the gap between the "have" and "have-not" nations, which unhappily is paralleled also by the division of the world along colour lines. Here the Commonwealth is a major instrument for peace at our ready disposal, and should be cherished and fostered, particularly through technical assistance and aid programmes.



The new phase on which we may be embarking shortly may offer new opportunities for developing the international peace-keeping machinery envisaged in the Charter to replace efforts in the field which have so far had to be accomplished by ad hoc improvisation. The problem for a country like Canada will be to decide how much of our limited military resources to put into the deterrent forces which will have to be maintained for a long time to come and how much to devote to developing international machinery for the preservation of peace, conscious that such machinery probably represents the character of the future.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/18

Text of a Speech delivered by the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, at the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian French-Language Weekly Newspapers' Association at La Malbaie, Quebec, on August 17, 1963.

\* Indicates paragraph delivered in French.

... Mr. Chairman, you have the right to be proud of your Association and of each of its members. The role of the weekly press is of the greatest importance, in encouraging worthwhile local initiative, in circulating news and information and also in moulding opinion at the primary levels of human activity - that is at the family level, at the municipal level, and within regional limits. It is, therefore, man himself, the human being, that you are interested in, even more than the mass of readers. You are familiar with international politics, national problems of course, but you are serving mainly the local or regional economy. That important, that vital, role only you can fulfil efficiently.

This work is accomplished throughout Canada by more than 1,000 weekly newspapers. But it must be noted that the French-language press makes a further and distinctive contribution. You play an essential part in safeguarding and developing French culture in North America.

\* Canada is rich and privileged in more than one way, particularly because she is the heir and depositary of two great cultures.

\* Your Association extends beyond the geographical limits of the Province of Quebec, since its members are also recruited from the Atlantic Provinces, in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces. Therefore you are the very image of French Canada that is asserting itself everywhere in this country.

\* I believe it is important to accentuate this fact - the recognition that Canada is a truly bilingual country with two basic cultures, to which many others have been added to our great advantage.



★ Canadian unity is now in another difficult period. These difficulties have common causes. For some years, Canadians have been more than ever conscious of the encroachment of American culture. They feel that they are gradually losing control of their economy. On the other hand, they realize that their standard of living, which they do not want to see lowered, depends in a very large measure on the export of our products to the United States and the import of American capital. This is the reason why they realize that political independence cannot in itself be very effective in changing an economic situation which has become inseparable from prosperity.

★ This situation inevitably gives rise to frustration. A very few English-speaking Canadians regret and look to the past. A few others are tempted to stop resisting and become Americans. However, the great majority have decided to react positively to the American encroachment, to accentuate their identity as Canadians and to get closer to their fellow French-speaking Canadians.

### Not Flight but Resistance

★ In short, the solution to the problem is not flight but resistance. When it is impossible to prevent this encroachment, one has to attempt to assimilate and control it.

In meeting this problem - and others concerned with maintaining our identity, we must first rebuild our political and economic society in terms of the problems and needs of contemporary world. It means that both the founding races must meet together more often and become better acquainted. I am convinced that such closer relations will be mutually profitable. I also think that the common sources and similar nature of so many of the problems of English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Canada will give us a chance to get closer and to understand each other better. Basically, we have the same problems, and to find the right solutions we need each other. In this field, at least, we are inseparable.

We are also inseparable in the sense that hundreds of thousands of English-speaking Canadians reside in Quebec, and nearly a million French-speaking Canadians live outside Quebec. This latter fact has been officially recognized by the government of Quebec, when it created a Department of Cultural Affairs. Quebec, in this sense, is more than a province -- it is a motherland, but a motherland in a Confederation in a national partnership.

### Progress Slow but Sure

★ The bringing together of the two groups requires, amongst other things, that English-speaking Canada be more conscious of the aspirations of French-speaking Canada and that the latter be not too impatient if it finds that this consciousness seems slow to express itself. Real progress is being made from one generation to another. For example, the Bourassa doctrine on Canadian nationalism,





which was attacked as a heresy, a generation ago, is now accepted by practically all of English-speaking Canada. In short, if we do not advance at the same pace, we move at least in the same direction. This, I believe, is essential.

✱ It is necessary to recognize that in the historical and cultural sense our country is mainly formed of two races and that these two races must have equal rights and an equal opportunity in the expansion and in the control of the economy. But we must also recognize that a Canadian nation exists which, precisely, unites these two people who have founded and developed our country. When we no longer talk of Canadian unity in this country, Canada will have ceased to exist and then our two cultures will be in great danger.

✱ At this time when we are preparing to celebrate our centennial, it is advisable that Confederation should be reshaped to meet the requirements of the present hour. We want a 1963 model.

✱ Our federalism must be conceived in such a flexible way so as to permit the existence of a Canadian Government strong enough within the limits of its jurisdiction to fully play its part among the great nations of the world, while ensuring the progress and welfare of the Canadian population.

✱ But we also want to give the provinces all the powers granted to them by the Constitution and the means to exercise such powers. I wish to repeat that we must bring about a co-operative federalism - that is to say, a federalism free from any spirit of an unacceptable centralization.

#### New Era for Confederation

✱ At the end of the recent Federal-Provincial Conference, the Premier of Quebec emphasized that the Confederation has now entered a new era. I am convinced that in this new era more frequent discussions will enable the leaders of the provincial and federal governments to find solutions to present problems. I have no doubt that a permanent agency can also play an important part in federal-provincial relations. All this will ensure better understanding of our separate problems as well as of our common problems. It is on such understanding that good relations, friendship and co-operation are based.

✱ I know as well as you do that the Province of Quebec is different from others, because, while a province of Canada, it is the motherland of people living in other provinces.

✱ Quebec needs the means to keep her own identity; Quebec must have the means to act, to meet her present needs and also satisfy aspirations dating many centuries back.



## Unity in Diversity

\* But Canada also needs the means to keep her own national identity and to act for Canada, on the domestic level as well in the international field, especially in the effort to safeguard peace and security in the world. In order to give a new impetus to our economy as well as to continue our role in the world, we need a united Canada. Unity in diversity, unity of action as partners, equal partners. It is within such a healthy Canada that Quebec will be in a position to realize her aspirations.

Mr. Chairman, the Government that I am leading will do its best to establish such a status of equality between the two partners and to assure a better understanding, an easier and more continuous exchange of views and opinions between them.

To this end, I place great hope in the Royal Commission on Biculturalism which we have just created; which will clarify problems, recommend solutions and help government take the necessary action.

## Steps Already Taken

We have already taken steps to have the French language not only recognized officially in the Government of Canada, but also - and this is important - to give it a more and more current use. It is our desire that, in all sectors of the Federal administration, French can be used as well as English. I know we will achieve this anticipated result and a bilingual Civil Service.

An increasing number of English-speaking Canadians are realizing that learning the French language is not a regrettable concession to our national circumstances, but an enriching cultural experience.

There is no more important problem facing this country - apart from peace and work for the people - than the maintenance and development of the Canadian Confederation, on the foundation of equal partnership, the only foundation that makes possible the Canadian nation. Such a nation, strong and united, is essential if we are not to be absorbed in some continental society, and thereby lose our own separate traditions and cultures, French and British.

I have already spoken about the problem of preserving this Canadian nation, of maintaining our Canadian identity, against the inevitable pressures from the U.S.A., all the stronger because they are friendly and, in many ways, have had good results for us.

Some Canadians, however, are beginning to ask themselves: "Why should we worry about 'saving' Canada from the American 'invasion' if we don't believe in a Canada to be saved, a Canada which is greater than its parts?"





I believe that there is such a Canada, of which we should all be proud to be citizens, whether we speak English or French.

I believe that there can be a Canadian nation within which the two basic cultures can develop in full and equal partnership.

I know that this can only be done if each group respects and understands the position of the other and each appreciates fully the contribution of the other to the building of the Canadian confederation. But I know that it can be done.

I believe also, as I have already said, that while Quebec is a province in this national Confederation, it is more than a province, because it is the heartland of a people, in a very real sense it is a nation within a nation.

I refuse to believe that, in an insecure and dangerous world, where universal brotherhood is now the alternative to universal extinction, where the crying need is for men to come together rather than break apart, all Canadians cannot live together in friendship and understanding, rejecting the dangerous counsel of extremes wherever it comes from, so that together we may achieve a great Canadian destiny.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/19

## EIGHTEENTH SESSION: AN ASSEMBLY OF OPPORTUNITY

Statement by the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson,  
Prime Minister of Canada, in the General Debate at the  
Eighteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly,  
September 19, 1963.

I wish first of all, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your election to the high office you now hold. As one who has himself occupied that Chair, I know that it is always demanding, often difficult and occasionally an uncomfortable one, but your record and your personal qualities assure us that you will fill it with satisfaction to the Assembly, distinction to yourself, and honour to your country.

Some years have passed since I last had the honour to represent my country at the United Nations. My first words on my return must be to re-affirm Canada's strong and continuing support for our world organization and our desire to do what we can to help realize the ideals of its Charter.

### Change and Growth of the United Nations

From this rostrum, I am happy to recognize many old friends and respected colleagues. But I am also conscious of the fact that the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of 1963 reflects the great changes that have taken place in the organization since I was here, and which in turn reflect changes that have taken place in the world. Not the least of these changes is the admission of many newly-independent states whose distinguished representatives now add their wisdom and influence to the Assembly's deliberations.

Their presence is a reminder, which we should not need, that there can be no enduring peace and security in the world until all men are free, with the right to determine their own form of political life and the duty to display the responsibility that alone gives meaning to freedom.

For 18 years now, the United Nations has continued the search for effective ways to promote the purposes and principles of its Charter. In the broad balance-sheet the credit column remains favourable, even if limited by international fears and misunderstandings. Our task remains -- as it has always been -- to reduce and ultimately sweep away those limitations.





Of all the changes of the past few years, none has been more dramatic than the emergence of new and free nations in Africa. This emergence has had a profound effect on the political evolution of the United Nations and on international affairs generally. It has also added heavy responsibilities to our organization in many fields of activity. Finally, it has given new and urgent emphasis to two major questions of our time, colonialism and racial discrimination; both of which, we should not forget, can exist in many forms and have no common political pattern.

New states have brought United Nations membership closer to the goal of universality. They have also brought inescapable problems of growing pains. This process of growth and adjustment is bound to be difficult. How could it be otherwise? It requires patience and tolerance and understanding on the part of all members new and old.

There are new members that are small states with large problems of political, economic and social development. There are older members that are big states facing new and gigantic problems. Many of these result from their own great strides in science and technology. These advances have given entirely new dimensions to the threat of war and even to human survival, but they have also made possible a new era of progress and plenty surpassing any previous human achievement. The challenge to the world community, then, is a dual one, both negative and positive.

The problem of armaments, especially nuclear armaments, must be solved before scientific advances move it beyond man's reach. The disparity in economic and social development among nations must be corrected before it creates an unbridgeable gulf between "have" and "have-not" nations. It is the duty and interest of all members of the United Nations to see that this swift march of science and technology does not lead either to the universal destruction of war or to intolerable differences among nations in human welfare and social progress. Only through constructive and co-operative international endeavour can these two grim results be avoided.

#### Peace Keeping by the UN

The Congo crisis, about which I should like to say a word, has once again shown that these two things, security and welfare, are interrelated, parts of the same problem. That operations in the Congo were sustained in the face of great odds and obstacles is a stirring tribute to the courage and devotion of the servants of the United Nations. It is a witness also to the determination of the majority of its members that the United Nations should not fail in its Congo mission. This mission, broadly stated, was to cushion the transition from dependent to independent status -- a pattern which may again be needed in other colonial situations not yet dealt with.

The Congo mission has raised in an acute form the main problems of peace keeping of the United Nations -- problems of political control, executive direction, financial means and administrative co-ordination. From the Congo, new experience, not yet fully assessed, has been added to that gained from earlier peace-keeping operations. Canada does not share the doubts which have been raised about the nature and purposes of this United Nations action. We felt that



intervention in the Congo was a test which this organization had to accept and a duty which it could not shirk. We believe that this kind of important, if necessarily limited, peace-keeping activity has now moved beyond the stage of first experiment. We believe that it has become a practical necessity in the conduct of international affairs, and should be provided for as such.

### Strengthening UN Arbitrament

A main task of our organization, therefore, should now be to strengthen and improve its capacity in this field, learning from the failures and successes of the past and seeking more effective ways to perform this function in the future. There will, of course, always be some situations in which the United Nations should not be asked to intervene, either because the intervention would be outside the Charter, contrary to the Charter, or because it would be beyond the United Nations capacity and therefore bound to fail. But there will be other situations where its intervention will be important, perhaps even essential, for keeping the peace, or preventing small conflicts from developing into big ones; for these there surely should be the advance international planning and preparation without which no national government would dream of acting.

I am of course aware that a few members disagree categorically with this peace-keeping concept of the United Nations and that they argue that most of the peace-keeping operations of the past have been illegal. They would have us believe that the most stirring and compelling phases of the preamble to the Charter are hollow, that the first purpose enunciated in Article 1 has no practical application. There are other members who are doubtful or indifferent or cynical regarding this aspect of our work. Both categories reflect attitudes which have forced the organization to improvise in carrying out tasks which have been imposed on it by the decisions of the Assembly or the Security Council. Those who are responsible for the necessity of such "crash" action are often the first to criticize the United Nations when the results are disorderly, delayed or inadequate.

The Secretary-General in a recent speech (I believe it was at Harvard University) has emphasized the advantage it would be "if countries would, in their national military planning, make provision for suitable units which would be made available at short notice for United Nations service and thereby decrease the degree of improvisation necessary in an emergency".

I believe we should now support this appeal by putting into effect those arrangements, which are increasingly becoming necessary, including a compact planning team of military experts which would provide the advice and assistance which the Secretary-General should have for organizing emergency peace-keeping operations.

### Canada's UN Forces

National governments can also improve their own arrangements for assisting such operations. My own country now maintains forces, trained and equipped for the purpose, which can be placed at the disposal of the United Nations on short notice for service anywhere in the world. In case we are





required to do more in the future, we have recently given the Secretariat detailed information on what we can most readily provide to meet further requests for assistance.

In this co-operative peace-keeping activity we have been associated with many states and in many places far removed from Canada -- in Kashmir, in Palestine, in Gaza and Sinai, in Lebanon, in the Congo, in West New Guinea and in Yemen. Each situation has posed its own problems and suggested its own solutions. But always, running through it all, our own experience has taught us one thing: the importance of advance planning and organization, both within our national establishment and within the international organization. We would be happy to share our experience with others who have participated with us in the past in United Nations peace-keeping operations, as well as with those who might wish to do so in the future. To this end we propose that there should be an examination by interested governments of the problems and techniques of peace-keeping operations. This could lead to a pooling of available resources and development in a co-ordinated way of trained and equipped collective forces for United Nations service to meet possible future demands for peace-keeping or police action under the blue flag of the world organization and at the request of that organization. The Scandinavian member states, in their formation of a composite Nordic contingent for United Nations police and peace duties, have shown the way. We should now, I believe, try to make further progress along those lines, and my country would be proud to initiate steps for this purpose.

#### What Kind of UN Do We Want?

There are other fundamental United Nations questions to be dealt with - questions of constitutional reform, organization and administration, of financing and procedural methods. A comprehensive reappraisal should, I think, be made of certain basic questions, such as Charter reform, which have been pushed into the background of our thinking because of recurring tension in international relations leading to the fear that the questions themselves might contain the seeds of possible further friction. I am not proposing that this Assembly should decide that the Charter should now be reviewed with a view to making drastic changes and reforms. That, of course, would not be possible, and perhaps not desirable at this moment. But I am suggesting that at this session, in order that the United Nations can act more effectively in its various fields of responsibility, we should make a conscious effort to deal with certain problems which we have been avoiding.

#### Enlargement of Principal Councils

I have already mentioned the need for adequate and balanced representation in the main organs of the United Nations. Since the membership first began to expand in 1955, we have recognized that there had to be some adjustment and enlargement in the composition of the councils and of the Secretariat to reflect the changed geographical pattern of membership. To be fully effective, United Nations machinery and organization should adequately reflect the present membership, without giving undue weight to any single factor, whether it be military or industrial strength, population or financial contribution, politics or race or geography.



To this end, I believe that the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council should be enlarged in order to permit a better balance in their composition. We should not, however, confine our interest to representation. We should be even more concerned about powers and functions.

#### Absence of Unanimity

I am thinking particularly of the Security Council. Its record in recent years, for reasons which we all understand, has been one of diminishing returns. We are all aware of the main reason for this -- the lack of the essential unanimity among the great powers. That unanimity is still lacking; but this year, for the first time in the post-war period, we can perhaps begin to hope that improved political relations between the great powers may make possible the restoration to the Security Council of the high executive function which it was designed to fulfil.

We might also consider how to modify the Council's function to make it more effective as the instrument of political action for the United Nations. Indeed, the time may be at hand for a Security Council which can keep continuing watch on the affairs of the organization as a whole in much the same way as the executive committees operate in the Specialized Agencies.

If the enlarged Security Council were given a properly balanced composition, with sufficient safeguards as regards voting rights, it could conceivably become the main arena for political decision on questions which require urgent action. It could assume responsibility for many of the items which now lie heavily on the agenda of every session of the General Assembly. Such a Council could be in session virtually throughout the year and make it possible to cut drastically into the excessive time and energy now consumed by Assembly proceedings.

#### Relations of UN and Regional Organs

There is another change that might be considered. The United Nations will inevitably remain the central world forum for international discussion and recommendation on a wide range of subjects. We already have; in addition, regional groupings of states -- in Europe, Africa and Latin America. Other groupings conceivably may be formed. The time may soon come to correlate the activities of these regional groupings more closely with those of the United Nations. It is possible to envisage a stage in the evolution of the United Nations when regional assemblies may be used to deal with regional problems in search of local solutions or in the preparation for broader treatment at the full United Nations.

The United Nations, however reorganized to become more efficient, can never function effectively unless it has adequate financial resources. Far from possessing these, it faces a financial crisis. Temporary expedients have been found to meet this crisis. But the basic problem, arising largely out of the refusal of some states to pay their share of peace-keeping expenses of which they did not approve, remains untouched. I am aware of the explanations of their negative attitude to this problem given by the members concerned. But most of the arguments advanced have little to do with the real issue, which is that, if





the United Nations decides in accordance with recognized and legal procedures to engage in peace-keeping operations, the expenses should be borne collectively by the whole membership in accordance with Assembly decisions on apportionment. There is surely no other acceptable way. If we do not give the organization the financial support which it needs for discharging its responsibilities, its very existence will be endangered. In particular, the efforts of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies to render economic and social assistance might be brought to an end.

### Problems of Economic Development

The first concern of the United Nations, I know, is the keeping of the peace. If we were to fail in that, the whole brave human experiment would have failed; we should go down for good. But, second only to the keeping of peace, the great purpose of international statesmanship today must be to improve the living standards of all the world's peoples and to make possible a better life for all. The role of the United Nations in this field is necessarily limited. But if we wish, and if we will, it can be one of great and lasting significance.

Experience is more and more underlining the central significance and compelling urgency of economic and social questions in these years, rightly named the "Decade of Development", and our concern in that field is at the moment focussed on the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; we have been honoured to serve on the Preparatory Committee for that conference.

### Economic Growth and Trade Expansion

The problems of economic development and those of trade expansion are fundamentally the same. But the purpose of development is to raise the level of real incomes, from which the main impetus to expanding trade must come. Higher incomes within a country, however, do not automatically improve a country's ability to trade. The improved incomes must be related in the long run to increased earnings through exports. Aid programmes, essential as they are, are only a means of bridging a gap until export incomes increase.

For this reason, and for many others, we should do all we can in this Assembly to lay foundations for the success of next year's economic conference. That conference will be concerned, obviously, with recommending practical ways of raising and stabilizing the earnings that the less-developed countries derive from exports of primary products. It is hardly less important to enlarge the earnings open to all countries through trade in manufactured goods. For that purpose, as has already been pointed out by the first speaker in this debate, barriers to trade must be reduced and, in order to make this effective, measures may be needed to improve international currency arrangements and lessen the exposure of so many countries to balance-of-payments troubles.

In the complex structure of the world economy today, trade and aid are tightly linked. No amount of aid will create permanent, stable growth unless it is soon accompanied by developing means of increasing exports. Accordingly, all the members of the United Nations -- developed and developing economies alike -- have a common interest in seeking mutual aid and economic co-operation



which will be of mutual benefit. The success of this and other similar efforts, essential for peace and prosperity in the world, will depend largely on freeing economic and technical co-operation to the maximum possible extent from political controversy.

### No Politics in the Specialized Agencies

The Specialized Agencies, the Functional and Regional Commissions, the other bodies dealing with economic and social problems, should be given the opportunity to concentrate on the special tasks which they were set up to perform. Recently, their work has been diverted and delayed by the injection of controversial political questions into their deliberations. There have been attempts to achieve political aims at the expense of the economic and social benefits which would accrue from the vigorous pursuit of the technical programmes.

I believe that the Specialized Agencies and other functional bodies of the United Nations should leave political matters to the bodies designed and intended for political debate and political decision: the General Assembly and the Security Council. If a moratorium on political controversy in the Specialized Agencies could be accepted, it would enable those Agencies to get on with their practical projects of co-operative assistance, and I think the developing countries would have the most to gain from that result.

Some members directly and immediately concerned with certain political issues involving human rights and fundamental freedoms sincerely, and indeed passionately, believe that their cases should be aired whenever and wherever the opportunity occurs. We can understand and fully appreciate the depth of feeling aroused by racial and colonial issues, without necessarily accepting the desirability of all the methods proposed for dealing with such issues.

### No Reckless Use of Veto

The Charter does not require, or even authorize, sanctions, such as expulsion, to be applied merely because one member of the United Nations follows policies, such as apartheid, considered abhorrent and degrading by others. Quite apart from the practical and legal arguments against such action by majority vote, where will this course lead us? There may be -- indeed there are -- other governments represented in this organization which follow policies and adopt practices that are considered by many other members to be discriminatory and to violate human rights. But are voices to be raised by those other members of the Assembly for the imposition of extreme sanctions, such as expulsion? I hope not.

The fundamental aim of this organization should be to hold the nations together in an international system as nearly universal as we can make it -- and perhaps for that reason we should be seeking to increase the membership, not to decrease it.

### Realities of World Politics and the UN

Today the world around us is filled with uncertainties and dangers from a wide and worrying variety of unresolved issues. Many of them do not appear on our agenda. Some may no longer be susceptible of United Nations





treatment and can best be dealt with, at least for the time being, by the parties most directly concerned. In its approach to international affairs, the United Nations has to take into account the reality of world politics, which in some cases makes direct negotiations preferable to United Nations involvement.

There are certain questions, however, which are the direct concern and responsibility of this Assembly. There are old questions such as disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, the elimination of racial discrimination, freedom for peoples who have never had it and for others who have lost it. There are also new questions raised with each passing year. But, whether old or new, they have their place in United Nations priorities and they all pose the question, with a compelling urgency: How can this collective United Nations response to international challenge best be fitted into the pattern of world affairs?

We must soon find the right answer to this question, for time may be running out on us. While most members recognize the proven value of the United Nations and want it to continue in effective being, with a substantial role in our world, there are signs of decline and deterioration which we would be foolish to ignore and which could threaten the future use of our organization, indeed its very existence.

Fortunately, however, there are also signs now of improvement in relations between the super-powers, which could give the United Nations new hope and new opportunity. There is a little more benevolence and a little less bitterness, and the Cold War is a little less frigid. The United Nations is, among other things, a unique political mirror reflecting, often magnifying, and occasionally distorting, the dreams and the distresses of men. So I wonder what the eighteenth session of the General Assembly will show.

#### Lessening of Tensions and Prospects for Future

The picture could be a brighter one. The feeling today of crisis and collision is not as oppressive as it has been in the recent past. There is an encouraging contrast between the international climate at the opening of this session of the General Assembly and that which hung like a dark shadow over the last or the one before that.

I know that none of the great issues has been resolved. There is recurring tension in and around Berlin, in Laos and Vietnam, in parts of Africa, along the Sino-Indian frontier, in the Middle East, in the Caribbean and elsewhere. But there seems now to be more of a will, more of a desire, to seek peaceful settlements to stubborn problems. This improvement may soon fade before the test of policy and action. But it exists now, and we should take full advantage of it.

#### Test-Ban Treaty

Its most striking evidence, as has already been pointed out by the representative of Brazil, is the recent partial nuclear test-ban treaty between three nuclear powers, since adhered to by more than 90 states. Even by itself, that treaty is immensely valuable in putting an end to the poisoning



of the atmosphere which sustains all life on our planet." It showed that great powers were able to agree on something important in spite of the fears and tensions of Cold War. The global sigh of relief that followed that treaty was due not only to the ending of atmospheric pollution, important as that was, but to a feeling of hope for further progress towards peace. In particular, the time seemed closer when the long frustration of disarmament negotiations might be replaced by some positive measures of agreement, with priority to atomic disarmament.

It would be intolerable now if our hopes for some positive steps to remove the fear of universal destruction were one more to be dashed. I cannot believe that this will happen. I cannot believe that there are not sensible solutions which will be found to the problems of the relations of 700,000,000 Chinese with their neighbours, or to those of a divided Germany, a divided Korea, a divided Vietnam. I do not accept the permanence of the Berlin wall as a symbol of a divided world. I reject the theory that Arabs and Jews must forever be hostile. I do not believe it is the destiny of Cuba to be permanently alienated from former friends and neighbours in this Western Hemisphere, or for whites and non-whites to be permanently embittered in Africa because of racial policies which are bad and bound to fail.

I do not claim that there are quick and easy solutions to these problems. There are no such solutions, and there never have been. But there is a better atmosphere in which to begin the earnest and persistent search for solutions. And in this search, I repeat, the United Nations can play an effective role -- but only if it puts its own house in order.

#### Scope for UN Action

It is not the sole instrument for international co-operation. It has no supra-national authority. It is no substitute for national foreign policy or bilateral diplomacy. The Charter rightly recognizes that there are other peaceful means of solution, regional and limited collective arrangements outside the United Nations but consistent with its principles, which member states can employ, and which they do employ. Nevertheless, the United Nations alone serves us all. It provides the only world assembly to protect and advance human rights and freedoms and human welfare, to reduce and remove the causes of conflict. It can lead us out of the post-war wasteland into greener pastures of a creative and secure peace. It can. But whether it does, whether it discharges that great role and fulfils its great responsibilities, depends on us. When the United Nations fails, its member governments fail. When it succeeds, all the plain and good people of all the world succeed.

We are 18 years old now. The League of Nations was 18 years old in 1938. That was the year of appeasement, of unawareness, of failure of heart and nerve. The eighteenth year of the United Nations opens in a climate of greater hope. We can make it the beginning of the end of the situation where a man can communicate with a missile 1,000,000 miles away, but not with another man whom he watches warily over a curtain of fear and suspicion.





Shortly before his premature and greatly lamented death, Albert Camus wrote: "Since atomic war would divest any future of its meaning, it gives us complete freedom of action. We have nothing to lose except everything. So let's go ahead."

Well, I say: Let's go ahead. This is the Assembly of opportunity. We can make it, if we will, the Assembly of action for peace.

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s/c





# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

## No. 63/20 URGENT NEED FOR SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMONUCLEAR TESTS

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., M.P., in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on October 18, 1963.

Mr. Chairman:

It is a great pleasure for me again to have the opportunity of addressing the First Committee as the representative of Canada, and to meet colleagues with whom I worked in the past on the many difficult problems with which this Committee has been faced. None of these problems, as all of us know so well, is of greater import for the future of the world than the problem of disarmament - the problem of how we can make the transition from the arms race and the cold war to peace and security guaranteed to all under the aegis of this organization.

Canada has participated in the negotiations on disarmament since their beginning in the United Nations. It is a responsibility which, I can assure the Committee, we regard as of paramount importance.

For the first time since this item on the suspension of nuclear tests was inscribed we meet in a brightening atmosphere. We have been encouraged by the signature of the partial nuclear test ban treaty by the three great nuclear powers and by more than one hundred other states.

Tribute must be paid, first, to the three nuclear powers who have concluded the first significant treaty restricting the development of armaments since World War II; second, to the non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference whose tireless efforts contributed greatly to this accord; and third, to all the other members of the United Nations which over the years have continually focussed international attention on the urgency and importance of ending all tests. We all have some reason to hope that the test-ban agreement of August 5 signifies, as the distinguished representative of Tunisia said in Plenary Session, "an irreversible trend towards disarmament and peace."

For many years the major powers have talked about disarmament, but many countries, including ourselves, have believed that these discussions would remain unrealistic so long as the nuclear powers were unable to take the first essential step of stopping the development of nuclear weapons. The limited test-ban is therefore of particular significance. It provides reassurance to the





world that fallout will not continue to endanger the health of this and future generations - that in itself is a gain of enormous human significance.. It also shows that the major powers have taken a step towards ending the unrestricted development of even more destructive types of weapons. The object of disarmament is to reduce and then eliminate all major weapons, but it is important, first, to arrest completely the refinement of weapons which testing makes possible. This is why we regard the partial test-ban as a "break-through", heralding - we hope - further steps towards restricting competition in new types of armaments.

We welcome, therefore, the determination of the nuclear powers, as expressed in the preamble to the limited test-ban, to continue to seek agreement on stopping underground tests. Previous speakers in this Committee have quite rightly emphasized the importance of continued negotiations towards this end. The competition in and the development of new types of nuclear weapons cannot finally be ended until agreement on this matter is achieved.

We welcome the fact that other countries, great and small - now numbering over one hundred - and many with the potential to develop nuclear weapons, have signed the treaty, thereby signifying that they do not intend to develop nuclear weapons. The fact that several technically and economically-advanced countries have taken this step is of special significance in limiting quantitatively the proliferation of these weapons. In this connection, it should be noted that the Federal Republic of Germany, in signing the partial test-ban, has provided further evidence of its intention to adhere to its policy of refraining from manufacturing nuclear weapons. On September 25, in Plenary Session, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Denmark refuted the unjustified allegations which continue to be made against the Federal Republic of Germany. We subscribe to his remarks.

I am glad to place on record our assurance that Canada has no intention of departing from its established policy of refraining from conducting such weapons tests in any environment. We hope that others in a similar situation will also maintain their present policies. Canada is one of the countries that have the technical and industrial capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons. Many years ago we renounced any intention to do so, and we have never deviated from that policy. In the United Nations and in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference, Canada has been in the forefront of countries seeking an agreement to end all nuclear tests, and we were, for this reason, one of the first to sign the test-ban agreement of August 5.

We welcome the resolution prohibiting the orbiting of weapons of mass destruction in outer space. Canada has for some time been urging agreement in this field. In the Eighteen-Nation Conference, on March 27, 1962, two weeks after its inception, Canada proposed a declaration on this subject. The resolution banning weapons in outer space is welcomed by the world for several reasons: first, like the limited test-ban treaty, it will help to put a brake on the development and refinement of new weapons; second, the resolution is not confined to the prohibition of orbiting nuclear weapons but includes other types of mass destruction weapons as well; finally, it demonstrates the fact that in the new horizons of man's activity opened by science, the major powers are hereby giving further proof of their intention to confine their activities to peaceful ends.



We hope also that all countries will become parties to the limited test-ban. Canada has noted the proposal of Peking of July 31 for a conference of heads of governments of all countries to discuss the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. We welcome this evidence of Peking's interest in the elimination of nuclear arms and we hope this will lead them to the conclusion that universal acceptance of the partial test-ban agreement would be an important first step in that direction. We hope that Peking will come to share the view that the question of nuclear disarmament, while a most important feature of a disarmament agreement, cannot be considered in isolation from the elimination of other types of weapons and the reduction of armed forces. The distinguished representative of India, Madame Pandit, explained in this Committee just a few days ago why this is so. The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference is now engaged in the task of working out a balanced disarmament agreement designed to have world-wide application. It is realized that a treaty on general and complete disarmament must embrace all nations - or at least all major military nations. We hope that Peking will eventually support the important efforts now being made to develop a programme for disarmament and will appreciate that to call a world conference of heads of governments to consider disarmament is, at this stage, premature.

Canada will strongly endorse and support a draft resolution calling on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference to continue efforts to reach agreement on underground tests. We hope that the Disarmament Committee will soon reconvene in Geneva to resume its important work both in this field and in respect of collateral or preliminary measures and general and complete disarmament.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask your indulgence and that of the Committee to make a few general remarks on the subject of disarmament and measures preliminary to it. I regret that I will not be able to participate in the work of this Committee when it discusses the item on general disarmament. I therefore would like to take this opportunity to stress how important it is for the General Assembly to consider how we can best help to maintain this new momentum and achieve new significant agreements.

In the opinion of the Canadian Government, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference is the most effective forum for disarmament negotiations yet established and deserves strong support from all United Nations members. It would be wrong to underestimate the role of the Geneva Conference - both past and future - in helping to reach agreements among the major powers. In the case of the accords on the partial test-ban and the direct communications link, it is significant that proposals on these subjects similar to the agreements adopted have been considered in the Eighteen-Nation Committee well in advance of the time when the agreements were reached. The same is true with regard to prohibition of orbiting weapons of mass destruction in outer space, which appeared as an item on the Conference's list of collateral measures. This shows, in our view, the special value of the Eighteen-Nation Committee as a forum in which the two main sides, and all the other participants as well, can submit their ideas, allow them to be considered, studied and developed so as to provide a basis for agreement when the time becomes ripe for an accord to be adopted. The reaction of the members of the Eighteen-Nation Conference has also been of assistance to





the major powers in developing their proposals for a total disarmament programme. The constructive contributions of the eight non-aligned countries greatly facilitated these achievements.

Even though final accords may be reached outside the confines of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, as in the case of the partial test-ban treaty and the agreement on orbiting weapons, that is no reflection on the work or worth of the Committee, for it is the end result which counts, not the forum in which that result is reached, and it is only to be expected that in nuclear matters it is the nuclear powers who must finally agree.

The Eighteen-Nation Committee will be reconvening in circumstances which can make its work fruitful far beyond the general expectation of only some months ago. All of us at this session of the United Nations have been struck by the atmosphere of harmony and cooperation that has characterized our discussions so far in the nuclear tests and disarmament field. All of us have been struck also by relative harmony which is reported to have prevailed during the talks here of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. This new spirit presents the Geneva Conference with a unique opportunity to find new areas of agreement on measures to reduce international tensions. It also places on the Conference the responsibility to seize the opportunities presented by the atmosphere of détente in order to reach agreements involving physical measures of disarmament.

To what measure should the Eighteen-Nation Conference give priority? We suggest measures to reduce the risk of surprise attack, such as the establishment of ground observation posts; measures to control the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons; as the Foreign Minister of Ireland suggested; actual physical measures of disarmament, as Lord Home proposed, and continued negotiation towards a comprehensive test-ban agreement. We must continue to proceed step by step, building up that degree of confidence which will enable far-reaching measures of disarmament to be implemented. Although progress has been slow in the Eighteen-Nation Conference, it would be wrong to be discouraged. As in the case of the limited test-ban, and the Austrian State Treaty, a seemingly endless and inconclusive discussion can lead, suddenly, to progress and achievement. We now have the prerequisite for successful negotiations - a world-wide conviction that security cannot be enhanced by the arms race and that countries with different political philosophies share an overriding common interest - that of promoting and achieving world stability through the control and elimination of armaments and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement in Plenary Session on September 19, suggested that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should convene early next year at the level of heads of government or state. I should like to quote the remarks of the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Lester Pearson, concerning this proposal. On September 25, the Prime Minister said that, "I have always felt that while there are occasions when summit meetings are essential you should be very careful to do all the preparation in the valley before you try to get up to the summit for your meeting. In other words, a summit conference is attended with so much publicity and arouses so much in the way of expectation that you should be pretty



sure that you are going to be able to accomplish anything before you have one; otherwise the resulting disillusionment is pretty great. So, if we are going to have a summit disarmament meeting of the Committee of Eighteen, then there would have to be a lot of preparation done in advance and we would have to be pretty certain that the summit meeting was going to result in some concrete achievement. On those conditions I would be very glad to attend it".

If, as we hope, the major powers of the world move forward towards ending the arms race and dependence on national armaments for the maintenance of their security, the more urgent becomes the need to develop the capacity of the United Nations to deal with situations which could threaten international peace. Both the joint statement of agreed principles and the United States and the Soviet Union's disarmament plans recognize the need for improved peacekeeping machinery as disarmament progresses. Prime Minister Pearson, in Plenary Session on September 19, indicated the steps Canada has already taken, in our national military planning, to maintain, train and equip units which can be placed at the disposal of the United Nations on short notice for service anywhere in the world. The Prime Minister of Canada urged others to adopt similar arrangements and he proposed that there should be an examination by interested governments of the problems and techniques of peacekeeping operations with a view to the development in a coordinated way of trained and equipped collective forces for United Nations service. At a later stage we intend to follow up with concrete proposals to this end. The Canadian Prime Minister was not, as some seemed to have thought, advocating a standing United Nations army at this time but rather the more modest objective of co-ordinated national preparations to meet the sort of United Nations requests a number of us have already repeatedly been called upon to fulfil.

Mr. Chairman, while general and complete disarmament must remain our objective over the long term, we can and should give just as great attention at this stage to working out preliminary agreements designed to facilitate progress towards that objective. Clearly, the United Nations General Assembly is not itself an appropriate forum for examining detailed proposals either on disarmament or on measures designed to facilitate disarmament. At the same time we believe it is of the utmost importance that such detailed studies should be carried out by a body which is representative of world opinion. We believe that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee comes closer to this requirement than any other body established for the purpose. The major military powers are, for the most part, represented on the Committee. I might add, in this connection, that the successful prosecution of the tasks of the Conference requires active participation of all of its members, particularly in relation to the key problem of nuclear disarmament. We feel strongly that this Assembly should reaffirm its confidence in the Committee's ability to pursue its task.

Mr. Chairman, this Assembly has every right to be encouraged by the agreements which have been reached within the last half year on measures which can reduce tension and facilitate the way to general disarmament. While this progress is welcome we should not let it be a cause for relaxing our efforts. It is a sobering thought at this time that as yet not a single rocket, not a bomber, not an atomic bomb, not a thermo-nuclear warhead, not even a machinegun, has been put on the scrapheap as a result of agreement to disarm.





I do not need to remind a body of this distinction of the close connection between the arms race and international political problems. States arm themselves to defend national interests which they believe are threatened by other states. When one state arms, another responds. The competition in arms building in turn intensifies political disputes. The two processes become completely intertwined. When this happens, it requires statesmanship of the highest order to reverse the trend and to disentangle the arms race from the political confrontation.

It is important that we all have a clear understanding of the nature of the détente about which so much is now spoken. The political problems have not been solved. The détente means only that the leaders of the Atlantic alliance and of the Soviet bloc have recognized that there can be no hope of arresting the arms race and liberating man from the danger of self-destruction unless a climate is created in which political differences can be rationally and unemotionally examined.

In so far as disarmament is concerned, for the first time there is a realization on both sides that it is a gradual process. The agreements recently reached have been made possible because the great powers have recognized that in certain small but well-defined areas they had an identity of interest. They have had the realism to give tangible expression to that identity of interest. This is welcome evidence of a new approach. These steps are desirable in themselves. Moreover, the very process of reaching agreement diminishes the enormous reservoir of suspicion built up over recent years, and thereby makes possible the further steps needed to attain the final goal.

Mr. Chairman, the Canadian Government is convinced that the nations of the world must continue to make an all-out effort to achieve a realistic programme of disarmament. As we see it, this is not just a question of the hopes or dreams of idealists; it is an objective which all rational men must recognize as in their own interest. The alternative of a continuing arms race is ruinously wasteful in terms of economic resources. It is also self-defeating because lasting peace never has been guaranteed by national armed force - and never can be; peace must be founded on effective international agreements for the reduction of armaments and the strengthening of machinery - and the political will to use it - for settling disputes by peaceful means. Canada, for its part, will continue to pursue the goal of disarmament under conditions of security.





# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

JAN 28 1964

Canada

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

## CANADA'S GREAT CHALLENGE

No. 63/21

Address by the Honourable Maurice Lamontagne,  
President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada,  
to the Canadian Club, Toronto, on November 4, 1963.

We will celebrate in 1967 the centennial of Confederation. This first century has been marked by great achievements and also at times by serious crises. The Riel incident, the school question in the West and in Ontario, our participation in war and the conscription issue have divided our two main ethnic groups and threatened our national unity.

Those successive crises have followed a common pattern. They resulted from action initiated in English-speaking Canada and the ensuing reaction of French-speaking Canada. The most acute manifestation of those crises was always the sharp conflict which opposed Ontario and Quebec. Each time, sooner or later, Ontario won its case and Quebec had to retreat and to adjust.

We are now going through another serious national crisis. But this time, a new pattern has appeared. The current crisis is the result of actions taken in Quebec and it comes at a period when there is, especially in Ontario, a much better understanding and appreciation of the "French fact" than in the past. The emergence of this unique crisis has bewildered a great number of English-speaking Canadians. And in their astonishment, they ask questions: "What is happening in Quebec? Why this sudden outburst when real efforts were being made to understand the French Canadians? What does Quebec want?"

### Evolution of French Canada

It is impossible to understand what is happening in Quebec today without some knowledge of the main trends of its past evolution. Indeed, the present discontent has deep historical roots. It is a feeling as old as the French-Canadian people itself, although it has been expressed recently in new and stronger terms.

The whole history of the French Canadians has been characterized by a constant reality - foreign domination - and by a perpetual dream - complete liberation. The basic conflict between the dream and reality has resulted in frustration and discontent.





The historical roots of such feelings can be traced back to the French Régime, when the whole political and economic life of the French Canadians was determined in Paris. The conquest in 1760 brought a new threat to their cultural and religious institutions. It coincided with the beginning of a long struggle to preserve these institutions and to achieve political liberty.

### Struggle for Political Control

Soon after the conquest, in 1774, the French Canadians obtained the right to speak their language and to practise their religion in Quebec. However, they felt that such a right would not be completely secure unless they had the control over their political institutions.

In 1791, an elective assembly was established, but the Governor and his ministers were not responsible to the elected members. A long and bitter fight soon developed over that issue between the Governor and the French-Canadian political leaders. It led to the rebellion of 1837 and to a new constitution in 1840. Finally, the battle for responsible government was won in 1848.

The political scene remained, however, the main concern of the French Canadians. The constitution of 1840 could not provide stable government; racial rivalries were still strong; economic conditions were worsening. The project of Confederation was submitted as a solution, but its discussion started another controversy, which retained the attention of French-Canadian leaders beyond 1867.

Soon after Confederation, another long quarrel developed on cultural institutions. As a result of economic stagnation in Quebec, many French Canadians emigrated to the Canadian West. They wanted to have their own schools but the English-speaking Canadians in Manitoba were not prepared to accept such institutions. That internal quarrel in Manitoba soon developed into a conflict between Ontario and Quebec. Other sources of division appeared in rapid succession: the Saskatchewan school question, Canadian participation in the Boer War and World War I, the imposition of conscription and the Ontario school question.

Meanwhile, an important constitutional evolution was taking place. In 1867, the Fathers of Confederation had established a strong central government. Some years later, however, the provinces, led by Quebec, initiated a movement to get wider powers and greater autonomy. That movement was strengthened by economic and social evolution, but especially by the decisions of the Privy Council in London. In the 1920's, the provinces had won their battle; they became, in fact, sovereign in their own field; the scope of their legislative jurisdiction widened, and they secured greater taxation powers.

### State of Peaceful Coexistence

In the late 1920's, at the end of a long period of political struggle, the situation in Quebec could be summarized as follows:



(1) The French Canadians had succeeded in preserving their cultural institutions in Quebec, but they had failed to have them recognized in the rest of the country. Cultural survival had been secured, but cultural expansion had been prevented. Quebec would be bilingual, but the rest of the country would not.

(2) Self-government had been won in a wide range of activities. But experience had shown that French Canadians were likely to lose, when conflicts arose, if they did not have the political control over the situation. Thus, the main concern of the French Canadians was to preserve provincial autonomy and to enlarge its scope. Taschereau, Duplessis and later Lesage, in their own ways, helped to develop and maintain that tradition.

(3) After World War I, the period of active conflict was practically over. The so-called "Quebec reserve" had been created more or less by common agreement. A great number of English-speaking Canadians were opposed to the cultural expansion of the French Canadians outside Quebec; French Canadians were conscious of their failure and stopped trying to build a bilingual Canada. The "Quebec reserve" appeared to be a temporary settlement; it meant a situation of peaceful coexistence where the two groups ignored each other.

During that long period, the main effort of the French-Canadian leaders had been devoted to the political struggle. There was little energy left to improve the cultural institutions or to develop provincial autonomy into a powerful instrument of action and control. The cultural and social institutions were left almost entirely to the clergy, which could not participate actively in the political struggle.

#### Church and School

The Church had the complete responsibility for the educational system at all levels and, quite naturally, exercised its control according to its own objectives. During that period, the Church sincerely believed that industrialization and urbanization were undesirable and it was seeking to keep people on the farms.

The educational system faithfully reflected those views. Technical schools were not encouraged. Primary schools were badly organized and did not go beyond the very rudiments of knowledge. Secondary schools or classical colleges were primarily designed to prepare students for the priesthood. Those students who could not be persuaded to become priests could go to the university, if they had the financial means, but their choice was limited, for all practical purposes, to two professions: law and medicine.

#### Church and Labour

The social movements were also controlled by the Church. When the international labour unions invaded Quebec at the end of the nineteenth century, the Church became worried and, in 1901, the Archbishop of Quebec decided to organize the Confederation of Catholic Syndicates, which were designed to protect the moral and spiritual rather than the material interests of the workers. The same applied to the Catholic Farm Union.





Thus, the political struggle had led to the creation of the "Quebec reserve"; but the clergy dominated the "reserve" and wanted to keep it as a predominantly rural society. The scarcity of arable land and the high birth rate, however, made such an attempt completely unrealistic. Quebec was rapidly becoming a vast reserve of unskilled industrial workers and it was far from being prepared to play its full role in an industrial society. Its philosophy of life was not oriented in that direction; it did not have the required capital; its cultural and social institutions were badly lagging.

### Slow Industrial Growth

The first industrial revolution, which was based on iron and coal, had an unfavourable impact on Quebec. When it appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century, it left the province with only one really favourable location factor: an abundant and cheap supply of labour. Labour-intensive and light-consumer-goods industries, such as textiles, boots and shoes and tobacco, were attracted to Quebec because they could not afford to pay high wages. However, the development of those industries was too slow to provide sufficient employment opportunities for a rapidly-growing labour force, at a time when older industries and trades, such as shipbuilding, were disappearing. As a result, many French Canadians moved to the West and about 500,000 emigrated to the United States during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of the present century, a new technological revolution appeared; it was based partly on water as a new source of energy, on substitutes for steel and on wood used in the fabrication of paper and plastics. That second industrial revolution had a very favourable impact on Quebec, chiefly because of its water, forest and mining resources.

After 1920, the old manufacturing industries, dependent on Canadian capital, on the Canadian market and cheap labour, developed slowly in Quebec. The most spectacular expansion took place in the sector of resource industries. The capital and the market for those industries were mainly American.

### Industrialization as Invasion

Thus, the industrialization of Quebec came as an invasion, first from English-speaking Canada and Great Britain, and later from the United States. Those "foreign" sources provided the capital, the management and the skilled personnel; Quebec supplied the resources and labour. Moreover, the industrial "invaders" made no attempt to adjust themselves to the French-Canadian cultural environment and to learn the French language. Wherever they were located, they created their small community and they remained completely isolated from French-Canadian life. In their own way, they practised a diluted form of apartheid. The "two solitudes" still exist today in most cities of the province.

On the whole, however, the economic invasion was welcome in Quebec. The so-called intellectual élite, still engaged in the political struggle, did not really notice it. The political leaders accepted it as a blessing and offered advantageous arrangements for the exploitation of the natural resources of the province. For the ordinary people, it meant the end of the emigration movement, new job opportunities, an expanding market for farm products and



relatively high wages in the new industries. On the whole, the economic invasion meant higher standards of living and the people liked it, even though the intruders were English-speaking and Protestant.

### The Position in 1939

On the eve of World War II, the situation in Quebec could be summed up in relatively simple terms. The distrust of the central government had become chronic as a result of the long political struggle. Provincial autonomy was seen as an imperative by the vast majority of the French Canadians. The intellectual élite was composed of a very small minority; it was beginning to be concerned by the economic invasion, but its influence on the community was negligible. Political leaders and the people were "conspiring" to welcome the industrial "invaders".

Quebec had become an economic colony dominated by an industrial élite which remained completely isolated from the cultural and social life of the French Canadians. But the cultural and social lag itself created a vacuum which prevented that situation from becoming a problem. For the time being, the economic invasion was welcome because it meant higher incomes and better standards of living and, in that way, it was preparing the French-Canadian people for its next major step in its overall evolution: the elimination of the cultural gap.

### Hidden Cultural Revolution

The years extending between the late Thirties and 1960 can be described as the period of the hidden cultural and social revolution in Quebec. This revolution began in the field of education, mainly at the university level. New faculties or schools of science and engineering, of social sciences and commerce, were established and attracted a greater and greater number of students. A young French Canadian seeking a university education no longer limited his choice to law and medicine. Many of these students sought postgraduate training in the universities outside the province and outside the country. They travelled to Paris, to London and to several centers in the United States to acquire greater and more specialized knowledge.

As a result, an increasing number of French Canadians now have the training which permits them to expect much more from life than was expected in the past. They can now speak the language of the scientist, of the economist, of the engineer and of the businessman. The intellectual barrier to their well-being is more and more a thing of the past.

During that period, social movements, including labour unions, also made tremendous progress. Under new and more dynamic leadership, these groups strengthened their democratic character and put more emphasis on the material interests of their members.

This cultural and social revolution was hidden from English-speaking Canada by a political regime which perhaps still represented the traditional aspirations of the people but certainly did not reflect the new hopes of a rapidly growing élite. The end of this regime, begun in 1959 and completed in





1960, was greeted as a great political liberation. The cultural and social progress, which had been remarkable since the Thirties, suddenly appeared as a revolution, and its impact was immediately felt on Quebec's political life.

The end of the political struggle and a rising standard of living brought by rapid industrialization in the Twenties had enabled Quebec to devote more energies to its cultural and social life. But the closing of the cultural gap at the beginning of the Sixties revealed another vacuum: the French Canadians were not really participating in the leadership of their own economic life and, to the small extent that they did, they could not use their own language and their cultural background. Thus, economic emancipation became not a new but a more conscious and a more immediate aspiration.

As you can see, what has been called the "quiet revolution" in Quebec has deep historical roots; it is the result of a long evolution. It can be defined as an urgent need for self-assertion in political, cultural and economic affairs.

### Situation Today

The present situation in Quebec is tense, confused and fluid. French Canadians have never been more conscious than they are now of the basic conflict between the fact of foreign domination and the dream of complete independence. They are in a rather unique position: they exercise very little control on their economic life - and in this respect, they constitute an economic colony - but they enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world, and have become used to the so-called American way of life. The conflict between the reality and the dream, between collective self-determination and individual security is reflected by the two solitudes which exist in the French-Canadian society itself.

On the one hand, the vast majority of the so-called *élite* believes that the situation of the French Canadians outside of Quebec, especially in the Federal Civil Service and inside Quebec in the private sector of the economy, has become intolerable. A majority of this group is still of the view that this situation can be changed fairly rapidly and is convinced that this would be the best solution for Quebec and Canada. An important minority, however, has become separatist, either because it refuses to make any compromise or because it believes that the English-speaking Canadians are not prepared to adjust.

On the other hand, the people are much less affected and frustrated than the *élite* by the cultural and economic domination. The average French Canadian thinks primarily in terms of material security and improvement for himself and his family. He feels that his rising standard of living is still closely associated with the industrial invasion, and he is certainly not yet prepared to break this association, because, to him, more development means more independence.

These "two solitudes" constitute a dominant feature of French-Canadian society today. If the different groups in the *élite* were to rally behind the extremist leaders, the dialogue between the "two solitudes" would soon develop and, as the experience of other countries shows, the people would eventually



follow its leaders for better or for worse. But it is quite clear that if the moderates succeed in changing the status quo and in working out a reasonable compromise, they will get the general support of the French-Canadian people.

This compromise will require important adjustments in the economic, cultural and political fields. French Canadians, especially in Quebec, should be able to participate fully in the direction of their economic life without having to give up their culture. This increasing participation should be part of a general plan that private corporations ought to initiate as quickly as possible, in order to adjust to the cultural and social environment.

In the cultural field, a much greater degree of bilingualism must be achieved outside Quebec. This will require a revision of teaching methods and programmes, the recognition of the historical and constitutional rights of French-Canadian minorities and the development of a bilingual Federal Civil Service in Ottawa.

In the political field, our federalism needs a new orientation. The Federal Government should be prepared to withdraw from existing and well-established joint programmes in areas which have been assigned to the provinces and to compensate financially those provincial governments which are willing to assume these additional responsibilities. This would make our federalism more flexible. In the fields which require joint intervention of both levels of government, such as economic development, new arrangements must be made to maintain continuing consultation in order to achieve co-ordinated action. This would make our federalism more co-operative and more effective. Finally, truly distinctive national symbols are needed to assert Canada's full sovereignty.

I am certain that such a general approach to the problems of Canadian unity is completely unacceptable to the extremists on both sides. I am quite sure that it would be supported by most French Canadians as a much better alternative to separatism. But is it acceptable to the majority of English-speaking Canadians? This vital question has not yet received a definite answer.

If their answer is in the negative, if they want to preserve the status quo, then the voice of the moderates in French Canada will cease to be heard and all of us will face a catastrophe. If, on the contrary, the answer is positive, if English-speaking Canadians accept the proposed new alliance as a challenge leading to new opportunities and new horizons, we will be much more united when we celebrate the centennial of Confederation than we were in 1867.

The movement for greater economic emancipation has already begun in Quebec. A federal-provincial conference will be held in Ottawa at the end of this month. I hope, that this will be only the first of a series of meetings, designed to reconsider and redefine our federal structure of government. A Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has been set up and is now getting prepared to hold what I call a referendum on these vital matters. In the meantime, the preparations for the centennial of the Canadian Confederation are under way. But we will not have much to celebrate if we fail in those attempts to rebuild our unity. We began in 1864 to develop the compromise which was accepted in 1867. It will not be too early to get to work together in 1964, if we want to celebrate a new alliance in 1967. This is Canada's new and great challenge.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/22

## SPECIAL CANADIAN - U.S. RELATIONS IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Address by the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson,  
Prime Minister of Canada, to the Pilgrims of the  
United States, New York, November 6, 1963.

The Pilgrim Fathers have been described as those who came from the Old World to remove forever the mystery of the New. We in Canada share in many ways the Pilgrim tradition, but we have added to its Puritan content a gay and Gallic variation.

One part of our historical, linguistic and cultural background derives from the story of those who came to New France about the time the Pilgrim Fathers came to New England. Quebec was founded in the year 1608, Plymouth Rock unveiled in 1620. The United Empire Loyalists provided another important Canadian link with your early history. In that significant migration, the 13 colonies lost, and Canada gained, many worthy descendants of the Pilgrims.

Your society has, for 60 years, provided an important forum for discussion of mutual interests and international responsibilities in that region which we now know and others often refer to, perhaps optimistically, as the Atlantic Community. With your counterpart, organized in London in 1902, you have epitomized the ever-increasing measure of Anglo-American friendship which has become a solid foundation for the creation and maintenance of a free and democratic Atlantic society. I pay my tribute to your contribution to that friendship and especially, if I may, to your President, who has added to his services in this field important and constructive contributions to better United States - Canadian understanding.

However, as Governor Rockefeller has just said, an Anglo-American axis is not enough. It must be as a stage to something even bigger, embracing the Atlantic Community, and become a part of an Atlantic axis, an Atlantic Community.

### The Atlantic Community

This Community, at least in its institutional expressions, has lately been marking time. This is unfortunate, because in this matter we cannot stand still. If we don't move forward, we will slide backwards. Moving forward means bringing Western Europe and North America closer together politically and economically; it means rejecting not only the Channel but the Atlantic as a line which divides the constituent nations into separate groups. "Thus far, and no further" doesn't make any sense, here.



Even if the Atlantic Community is not separated in this way, it must come to mean more than a military coalition of states, each primarily concerned about its own sovereignty, its own prerogatives, its own past, present and future. National values, national traditions, national identities must, of course, be preserved, but increasingly in the context of collective policy and action. There can be now no satisfactory national security or national progress without what used to be called "foreign entanglements".

To stand firmly and exclusively on the immutable and exclusive rights of national sovereignty in this nuclear, stratospheric, jet-propelled age makes as much sense as driving to this dinner with a horse and buggy -- indeed, it doesn't make nearly as much sense. You could have got to this dinner, New York traffic being what it is, just as quickly and comfortably in a buggy as in an eight-cylinder motor car.

Moreover, I repeat, the larger community must be based on something more permanent than a military alliance in the face of a common danger; it must rest on political and economic co-operation, on a growing feeling of Atlantic solidarity and cohesiveness.

May I quote a few words on this point from the 1956 report of the Committee of Three on Non-Military Co-operation in NATO? That report has this to say:

"The fundamental, historical fact is that the nation state, by itself and relying exclusively on national policy and national power, is inadequate for progress or even for survival in the nuclear age. As the founders of the North Atlantic Treaty foresaw, the growing interdependence of states, politically and economically as well as militarily, calls for an ever-increasing measure of international cohesion and co-operation. Some states may be able to enjoy a degree of political and economic independence when things are going well. No state, however powerful, can guarantee its security and its welfare by national action, alone".

This is from a NATO report seven years ago; it remains true, perhaps even truer, today.

#### Canadian Viewpoint

The compulsion of events and their tragic impact for us in two wars had driven this home to Canadians, along with the importance to us and to the world of Anglo-American friendship. Canada has had the good fortune to share in the benefits and responsibilities of that friendship. Whenever it shows any sign of weakening, we are the first to worry, and for good reason.

Traditionally, Canada's interests have been centred on the North Atlantic area. Economically, culturally, politically and strategically, the relationships within this region have in the past tended to be the decisive ones for us. A hundred thousand Canadian crosses in Flanders and other foreign fields are sad witness of the fact.





Our relations with Asia, Africa and Latin America are developing quickly and significantly. This is important for us and welcomed by us, but the Atlantic triangle, the Atlantic Community, continues to occupy a central place in our affairs and in our concern.

It would be invidious to suggest whether one side of the triangle has greater significance for us than the others. But there is no doubt that the square of the problems on the American side exceeds the sum of those on the other two. So far as we are concerned, the square of the benefits on that particular side may also, of course, be disproportionately large, as we Canadians do well to remind ourselves. Both the problems and benefits come from the importance and the intimacy of our relationship with the United States. Canadians and Americans are all mixed-up, together. Mixtures are rarely perfect, but usually stimulating. They develop interesting tastes and an occasional headache.

If Canada and the United States were not trading with each other to an extent, as our chairman has pointed out, not equalled by any two countries in the world, there would be fewer trade problems between us. If Canadian and United States industries were not so closely linked together, there would be fewer problems resulting from investment connections, inter-company relations and control policies. If United States and Canadian labour did not have joint unions, naturally headquartered in the United States, certain serious international labour difficulties that have recently disturbed us would not have arisen.

We should be careful not to ignore or minimize these problems, but we should also be careful not to distort and misrepresent them. When Canada seeks to defend her own national interests, and this causes difficulties, as it sometimes does, for certain United States interests, we are charged by some with being anti-American. The charge is usually made with a feeling of shock and surprise; we are your best friends, and hardly a foreign country, at all. Et tu, Brute!

This flattering identification by assimilation often confuses real issues. The chairman, referring to the closeness of our relationship, said that in Canada you can get your hair cut while you are having your shoes shined in the United States. That's true, I believe; it's also true, you can get your hair cut in Canada and your hair curled in the United States, and vice-versa! This merely means our people are very close together!

Our peoples are so close together, so friendly. They talk together about the same things and in language that is clear and understandable. Our economies and our activities are so intertwined that, when we in Canada do something by national action to protect a national interest, we are charged, more often in sorrow than in anger, with acting not like North Americans but "like Canadians".

#### Canada - A Separate Nation

It would be wise for Americans to consider any Canadian government as a friendly, foreign government whose first responsibility is the protection of the national interests of its own people, which includes as a very important



element, I hasten to add, the necessity of close co-operation with a good and gigantic friend and neighbour.

It's a tricky, not an easy situation; and is just one more reason why Canada, with its 19 million inhabitants occupying half a continent, but with most of them clustered close to the United States boundary in a kind of continental, 4,000-mile-long ribbon development, it is one of the additional reasons why Canada is one of the most difficult countries in the world to govern. Especially for the head of a minority government!

That difficulty -- and I am not complaining about it -- is increased by the fact that our people have come near to achieving your material standard of living - nearer than any other people - and, living so close to you in every way, we will not now accept anything less. We want to have two television sets in every house, two chickens in every pot, two cars in every garage. But it's far harder for our 19 million to finance all this than it is for our wealthier neighbor. So, we borrow - largely from you.

These borrowings have had happy as well as less-happy results for us. They have been responsible for much - and we should acknowledge it - of the growth and development of our country. Without your capital we could not have maintained the pace and pattern of our development. Your money has saved us from the disastrous consequences of a large, unfavourable trade balance with you. It has also put us deeply into debt and in some danger of mortgaging our future. That naturally worries us. In terms of your income, our unfavourable balance of payments with the U.S.A. during the last five years will have averaged \$17 billion each year.

That gives us, or should give us, furiously to think. I want to assure you, however, that in all this concern there is no anti-American feeling in the sense that there is any unfriendliness to American people. Of course not, and there will not be.

On the contrary, we are so friendly that we feel that we can criticize the United States as a Texan does, and in the same idiom. But, with this friendliness, there is a resolve in Canada, now, to promote and protect our own development as a separate nation as best we can.

We are right in trying to do this, as I am sure Americans will understand. As a former Governor-General of Canada, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey has put it: "Americans do not dislike us when we are loyal to ourselves, and they respect us when we stand up for what we believe to be our rights, as they are always zealous in defending what they believe to be theirs".

But we, and you also, should always be careful to make sure that, in the protection of our national interest, not only our policies but our procedures are fair to our friends; that, if experience shows we have made a mistake, we should try to correct it; that we do not fall victim to a super-sensitive, obstinate and narrow economic nationalism, which would be more foolish to Canada than for almost any country in the world, because we live by foreign trade.





## Interlocking Interests

We should not forget that Canadian national interests cannot be considered and safeguarded, apart from yours. Oh, we can build up our made-in-Canada shock absorbers but we cannot secure immunity from the impact of anything you do. When the results of your actions are good, this is to our quick and great advantage; when they are bad, we often are the first and foremost country to suffer.

So, no wonder we worry about what you do. You may worry about us, too, but while we can merely hurt you by some fiscal or taxation measure, you can ruin us by one of yours.

Most of these problems could have been avoided if we had been chosen or been forced to forego the benefits of close relations between our two countries. If, by any stretch of the imagination, we had been able to remain more aloof from each other over the years, we would have fewer problems now. But we would certainly both be the poorer for it, and in many ways; that's not the solution that I am looking for.

Close and varied neighbourly relations inevitably bring varied and serious problems. We should not try to avoid or ignore them. That would be unrealistic and would merely store up trouble for the future. We do better when we recognize frankly that the problems are bound to arise and then try to do something sensible about them as they do arise.

As good neighbours, we must be able to sit down and discuss them, realizing that solutions will not be found without hard work and give and take on both sides. It won't be done by mirrors or miracles, and won't be done by after-dinner speeches.

Notwithstanding the 150 years of peace (and we can take pride in that); notwithstanding the undefended border and our common addiction to the Beverly Hillbillies, Casey Stengel and public opinion; notwithstanding national pride and sentiment, domestic politics and a touchiness native to North Americans; all these will operate at times to the detriment of good Canada-United States relations. They will occasionally get our governments into hot water with each other. G.K. Chesterton once said: "I like hot water; it keeps you clean." Hot, yes, but not scalding!

The inevitable disparity of dependence of our two countries on each other creates a disparity in concern and in interest for each other. This is a source of some of our difficulties and some of our problems, and we have some good examples of that at the present time.

## Exaggeration Versus Indifference

What may seem to us, and is to us, a major issue, such as the effect of your tax-equilization proposal, will command big, black and continuing headlines in our press. So will harassment of our shipping in United States Great Lakes ports by some of your unions which disapprove of the action taken by our free and responsible Parliament to settle a Canadian



difficulty in the way that seems best to us. Such events will get little or no attention here unless - and this is a depressing feature - the news seems bad enough to be big.

You tend to underplay Canadian and American problems unless they become conflicts. We tend to overplay them and read a disaster into a difference.

To read some Canadian headlines and listen to some Canadian pronouncements, and a few American, you would think that the unguarded boundary now needs the United Nations police force to keep the peace. I deplore this exaggeration almost as much as I worry about the general indifference on this side to the important problems which are exaggerated. It is shocking, for instance, to see a Canadian headline, as I did recently, that reads: "Angry U.S.A. lashes Canada," when the basis for this "lashing" was a report of a criticism of Canadian grain-trading policy by one unnamed United States official in the Department of Agriculture!

A sense of responsibility, a sense of proportion and mutual understanding is needed on both sides - above all, a sane and mature approach to our problems by politicians, press and public.

#### Mutual Understanding Necessary

So far as the relations between the two governments are concerned, I am very happy to testify that, though we have had as difficult and sensitive problems to face in the last six months as in any previous period, throughout this time the contacts and the communications between Washington and Ottawa have been continuous, amicable and frank. It makes all the difference (I know from a long diplomatic experience) when you can talk to each other in the friendly, frank and direct way that political leaders in our two countries now do.

It should be no surprise to anyone that, in spite of this, many of our problems have persisted. I myself have never pretended that all differences between our two countries would be resolved by friendly visits or a friendly atmosphere. These things can help - help greatly - but our relations are too complicated and the problems too deep-rooted for that, that kind of easy solution.

Some years ago I ventured to prophesy, and the prophecy came as a shock to some and was strongly criticized, that the days of relatively easy and automatic relations between us were over. Later events have merely confirmed that forecast. This does not mean that the relations between our two countries in the future will be less good than they have been in the past; it does mean that they will require more vigilant attention, a greater effort of mutual understanding.

By reason of geography alone, Canada and the United States are inevitably and inescapably in a special position in relation to each other, and it will continue that way. The special features of the physical relationship between our countries are reinforced by the other special ties which have developed and have brought us so close together in so many ways.





It must be our purpose and our resolve to maintain that good and close relationship. I know that we will do so. I know that the nature and the depth of our friendship will be equal to the challenge of any pressures on it.

We are good neighbours, on this continent. We are the joint heirs in the New World of the great traditions of the British Isles. We are the transatlantic members of the Atlantic Community. We work with men of goodwill everywhere in the world to seek peace and preserve freedom.

So, we will stand together - but, more important, we will move forward together.

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# STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA

No. 63/23

## SOME ELEMENTS OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Extracts from a Statement to the House of Commons on November 28, 1963, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin.

...As we all know, there are certain factors which condition our responses to the shifting international events of our time. Factors such as history, our traditions, our resources, our geographical location and our cultural composition are present at all times, whatever the issue happens to be or whatever government in Canada finds itself in power, and they combine to create what I would call a natural Canadian reaction to any major international development. At the very least, these continuing factors tend to define the limits within which Canadian policy can develop and still remain true to our national values. They give a general continuity to Canadian policy which transcends party considerations, and I am sure that all Honourable Members would wish to see continued the non-partisan spirit that customarily has been reflected in our external policies.

### Canada - U.S. Relations

Just as there is a constant theme running through Canadian foreign policy over the years, so also do I believe there is a continuity of external policies on the part of our great neighbour to the South. Even so profound a tragedy as that which befell the United States just a week ago will not alter in any fundamental way the firm but wise and humane qualities which generally have been the hallmark of American leadership on the great international issues of our times, those affecting peace and war, and the task of raising living standards of the less fortunate peoples of the world. The wanton crime which ended a brilliant young life and career, striking grief into the hearts of all citizens of the world, as the late President Kennedy often called his fellow human beings, may lead to a pause while the new President gathers to himself the strands of office; but the course of American policy, as we know now from his statement yesterday, remains unchanged. The values by which John Kennedy lived, and for which he died, will live on. I know the House will join with me in extending to the President of the United States our best wishes and our pledge of Canadian co-operation in discharging the arduous responsibilities which have fallen to him.

Among the tasks which will confront him are a number of important and delicate questions affecting Canadian-United States relations....





Institutional and personal relations between these two countries are so varied and so intertwined that problems are bound to be manifold, and some conflict of interest cannot be avoided in intercourse between two nations. But without continuous communication in an effort to find solutions that will satisfy the interests of the United States and Canada, no tolerable solutions will be found. It has therefore been a primary objective of government policy to see to it that a genuine dialogue was resumed at all levels between our two countries. This process was begun at Hyannis Port and has been maintained ever since through a variety of channels. It is our intention that it should be continued uninterrupted, however difficult the problems may seem, and I believe it was not without significance that the Canadian Prime Minister was among the first, along with the President of France, to be received by the new President of the United States on Monday last.

At this meeting with President Johnson, which I attended, it was clearly evident that the President regards the relations between our two countries as important, and I can say it was quite evident that he will derive considerable satisfaction from continuous contacts with the Prime Minister of Canada.

#### East-West Relations

In assessing the international atmosphere as a whole, which is one of the things I wish to do in this statement, the state of relations between the Communists and the rest of us is of course basic. Some other problems, particularly that of assisting the peoples of the less-developed countries to advance into full participation in mankind's heritage of dignity, freedom and welfare, are no less difficult and, in the long run, even more important, but it is relations with the Communist countries that have involved the risk of war and have demanded the diversion to defence of vast resources that, in a more settled world, could be used for the purposes of instruction and well-being.

It is, therefore, with some sense of satisfaction that one can compare the general international situation today with what it was a year ago. At that time, the world stood on the very brink of nuclear war as the result of a sudden, secret deployment of Soviet strategic missiles in Cuba. We now know...that a year ago...the nations looked for the first time right down into the pit of nuclear fire. That Soviet clandestine move produced the most dangerous crisis of the post-war period; but it was one that, I believe, may mark a new chapter in East-West relations. Happily, that situation was resolved in a way which not only avoided open conflict but opened up new avenues for reducing tensions. It was typical of the late President of the United States that at the peak of that crisis he had the foresight to speak of peace.

But the major political problems of the world remain, in Germany, in Indochina, in Cuba. The problem of Berlin access is with us still, as recent tense moments on the Autobahn have reminded us. These and other problems caused by Stalin's division of Germany and Europe remain as grave sources of tension in the world, potentially as dangerous as Cuba. So when I speak of satisfaction at the improvement in the world political situation during the past year, I do not suggest that there are any grounds for complacency. Critical problems in adjusting relations between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds remain. Of course,



it is not possible to define precisely what prompted the Soviet authorities to co-operate in concluding certain limited, tension-easing agreements, of which the partial test ban treaty is the most significant, after some years of refusing these same proposals. Doubtless a variety of factors entered into the decision. One Soviet motive may have been a desire to reduce the risk of war; for there is no question in my mind but that the Soviet people, like our own, ardently desire peace and that Cuba was a sobering lesson for everyone. Another motive was, I think, economic, since the partial test ban treaty seems likely to limit the extension of the arms race into even more sophisticated and expensive areas of development. The Soviet leaders probably also share with us a desire to discourage the dissemination of nuclear weapons under the independent control of more and more governments, a development which could vastly increase the danger of accidental war and make much more complicated, and perhaps hopeless, the prospect of achieving disarmament.

Evolution within the Communist bloc may have exerted considerable influence. In Eastern Europe the Soviet Union's allies now enjoy a greater freedom to manoeuvre than was possible a few years ago. I think this was highlighted the other day when my colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce and I received in our offices a member of the Government of Bulgaria who had come to Canada to discuss with us matters involved in a prospective trade treaty. Although on key international issues such as disarmament and Germany and Berlin the bloc countries give apparently unquestioning support to the Soviet Union, it is nevertheless evident that on internal policy relating to collectivization of agriculture, de-Stalinization, and so on, and on bloc economic policies, there are variations which indicate clearly that differing national requirements and interests are more and more taken into account.

Moreover, there seems to be some increase in the realism of the Soviet leaders on the essential issues of Soviet-Western relations, and this realism may make possible in due course limited agreements on a number of other issues to complement and consolidate the relaxation begun by the achievement of the limited test ban agreement. The dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, as the leading representative of the West, has been resumed and it is to continue, as President Johnson's first message to Chairman Khrushchov indicated yesterday.

#### China and U.S.S.R.

A major factor in Soviet thinking, of course, is the problem of its relations with Communist China. While we have long known that there were serious differences between the Soviet Union and China, and that China has never been a true satellite of the Soviet Union, the new element is the unrestrained public disclosure of the extent of the rift. The dispute now appears to have been carried into the field of inter-state relations, affecting economic, political and possibly even territorial aspects. It would be unwise, of course, to judge how far these differences may yet be carried, for the sobering fact is that they are still agreed as to their basic aim, the extension of Communism throughout the world. Their differences are related primarily to the means by which this aim can best be achieved, although in the process national and racial considerations appear to have become involved.





Neither do I wish to minimize, however, the significance of the nature of their differences over method. Communist China maintains an attitude of unreasoning militancy while the Soviet Union proclaims the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Communist dogma of the inevitability of war is thus at the very root of Sino-Soviet differences. How this conflict of view between the two leading nations competing for influence and domination of the international Communist movement is resolved can have the most profound influence on the peace of the world for years to come.

There can be little doubt of the aggressive nature of current Chinese policies. Quite apart from China's often proclaimed call for active prosecution of wars of liberation, her adherence to the doctrine of the inevitability of war, her rejection of the test ban treaty, and similar evidence of a hard attitude, Communist China has provided a modern example of expansionism through her limited invasion of India last year. A statement at the time revealed that her object was not only the promotion of territorial claims, but the diverting of India's economic resources to defence and the discrediting of India's democratic process. It had all the evidence of a bid to demonstrate to other nations that the principal power in Asia was Communist China, not India. It is also noteworthy that the Soviet Union condemned China for its intransigence in refusing to negotiate the border settlement with India on the basis of the so-called Colombo Proposals, and reiterated its belief that negotiations are better than war....

The dispute between Communist China and the Soviet Union is likely to force both of these countries to re-examine the fundamentals of their relations with the rest of the world.

We should be careful, however, not to become complacent at the sight of the two Communist giants openly quarrelling between themselves. There are factors which could make them keep their dispute, despite the evident contradictions, within bounds. But quite apart from this, it does not follow that bad relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China will necessarily mean any improvement in relations between either of them and the West, nor even necessarily any benefit to the non-Communist world in which they are already competing for influence.

### China's Dangerous Isolation

How, then, are we to deal with the Communist Chinese colossus, whose annual population increase is equal to the present population of Canada? For almost the entire period of its existence Communist China has been effectively isolated from the non-Communist world, partly as a result of Western policies but partly out of deliberate choice. We have had a recent example of China taking an initiative to intensify its own isolation. The test ban treaty was a step, albeit a small one, away from the arms race and, therefore, away from war. It is unfortunate and ominous that the Peking authorities chose to express strong opposition to it, in sharp contrast to its ready acceptance by the vast majority of the nations of the world.

So we must carefully consider whether the degree of isolation which now surrounds Communist China is healthy, whether it promotes international peace or tends to intensify the threat to it. At one time, the Soviet Union



was in a similar state of isolation. I wonder how many of us believe that Soviet isolation served the interest of world peace? I well remember Mr. Vishinsky saying in the United Nations that never would he allow the windows of the Soviet Union to be opened to the ideas of the West. And the nations of the West at that time, for the most part, strove to establish contact with the Soviet Union along lines which have now clearly become better established.

Some means must be found to remove the suspicion and ignorance which feeds on isolation. The lesson of the last years seems to point toward increased contacts. Whether those contacts take the form of scientific and cultural exchanges or of limited agreements, they serve to lower the barriers of hostility. I do not suggest it would be appropriate to rush into some new formal relationship at this time with the Chinese people's Communist republic. The avowed intention of Peking to occupy Formosa stands as a serious obstacle to both the seating of Communist China in the United Nations at this time and to the recognition of the Peking regime. But I suggest that the increasing ostracism of Communist China from the world community may be self-defeating and a potential threat to international stability. It is not too soon to begin in the West to formulate realistic and far-sighted policies toward this Asian giant.

Trade, of course, has a special place in the process of overcoming the mistrust which exists between the West and the entire Communist bloc. The Soviet Union and other Communist countries are facing a particularly difficult problem of resource allocation at the present time, and both the nature of this problem and the attempts to deal with it will have important implications not only for the domestic and foreign policies of those countries but for East-West relations in general.

What are the implications for Canada of the developments which I have been discussing? First, it must be understood that we are bound by treaty obligations, by tradition and by national interest to the Atlantic world and to those countries which derive historically, economically and politically from Western Europe. Interdependence is a fact of international life, and Canadian relations with the Communist world are inevitably governed by the general state of relations between the two great military groupings, particularly those of the United States and the Soviet Union. It is neither possible nor desirable that our relations with the Communist world should be significantly better or worse than the relations of our closest friends and allies with the Communist world. Within those limits, however, there are certain possibilities open to us which could serve our interests and those of our allies. I believe profoundly that the long-term solution of East-West problems will come through the slow evolution of Communist thinking about their own methods and objectives, and about the outside world. It will not help if the Soviet leaders continue to feel that the West is totally alien and implacably hostile. Breaking down this dangerous misconception is the political reason behind our encouragement of cultural and other contacts, and it should also be the political reason for our trade with Communist countries.

So, for these broad political considerations, as well as for the commercial advantages which accrue to Canada, a country vitally dependent upon its exports, the Government intends to allow non-strategic trade with the





Communist world to develop. We believe that through trade we shall encourage the evolution of institutions and attitudes in the Communist countries more favourable to co-operation with the rest of the world.

#### Recent Easing of Tension

It is essential, I believe, to assess realistically the elements which have contributed to the better atmosphere which undoubtedly does prevail at the present time....

Apart from the critical role of the Cuban crisis in stimulating a re-examination of policies in both the East and the West, the concrete steps taken toward the easing of tensions have in fact been few in number. They consist exclusively of measures to slow down the arms race or reduce the danger of a sudden outbreak of war, but they leave completely unresolved all the political problems which could give rise to war.

The measures are three limited agreements, all falling within the general field, which might be classed as preliminary to disarmament. First, a direct emergency communications system has been established between Washington and Moscow which should do much to ensure that war between East and West does not come about as a result of accident or miscalculation. The difficulty encountered in communicating rapidly at the time of the Cuban crisis was evidently enough to induce the Soviet Union to accept this measure, which the United States had first proposed in April 1962.

Second, there was the Moscow treaty banning nuclear weapons testing in all environments except underground, signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union on August 5, 1963. Canada signed the treaty in the capitals of the three depository governments on August 8, 1963. It was an unprecedented first step toward limiting, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the production of nuclear weapons, and of course it carried with it the enormous human dividend of removing the most serious source of radioactive contamination of the atmosphere and seas.

But above all the signature of this treaty by the nuclear powers, and its subsequent acceptance by over 100 states, proved that by patient exploration agreements can be arrived at which serve the interests of both East and West. Its real significance lies in the prospect it holds out for a broader settlement of East-West questions by the same process. On the Western side, it was accomplished without any sacrifice of principle or of security, and involved no political concessions....

The third limited agreement was that reached at the United Nations between the United States and the Soviet Union to refrain from stationing or orbiting nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction in outer space. This took the form of separate expressions of intention by the Soviet Union and the United States, which were welcomed by a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly in October last;...this is a measure which successive Canadian Governments have advocated.



It is to be noted that none of these agreements constitutes an actual reduction or elimination of weapons and armed forces. None the less the negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva have been productive. The Committee has played an important role in helping the major powers to reach agreement on all three measures. Even in the field of general disarmament the Committee has made a valuable contribution toward narrowing the areas of difference between the Communist and Western positions.

#### Disarmament Problems Remain

Important gaps still persist, however, and I would not wish to leave the impression that progress on actual disarmament is likely to be quick and easy. The Soviet position on control, inspection and verification is not giving any evidence of moving in the direction which the West regards as essential.

The outlook, therefore, for disarmament is fraught with problems, and the Eighteen-Nation Committee faces an enormous task. In the view of the Canadian Government, among those measures designed to increase mutual confidence the Committee might give priority to the examination of measures to reduce the risk of surprise attack by land forces, such as the establishment of ground observation posts. If these posts have sufficient liberty to observe within an adequate radius of action, they could give assurance against the possibility of sudden war. I appreciate, however, that discussion is likely to be difficult, as the Soviet Union tends to try to couple intrinsically worthwhile measures of this kind with unacceptable conditions, at least unacceptable to the Western countries. The Soviet approach to disarmament has always been heavily influenced by its policies toward Central Europe, and toward Germany in particular. Their latest objective seems to be to induce the United States and Canada to withdraw their forces across the Atlantic and thereby remove the North American presence, which is, to the great majority of Europeans, the tangible evidence of our commitment to their effective defence. The Western response to all these overtures must of necessity be such as will take into account the exigencies of NATO defence as well as the need to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation.

It is difficult to maintain the momentum toward disarmament engendered by the limited agreements which have been reached, especially in the face of political setbacks such as the renewal of Soviet harassment in the Berlin corridor. Yet it would be wrong to slacken our efforts for, as in the case of the limited test ban and the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, a seemingly endless and inconclusive discussion can lead suddenly to progress and achievement. We owe it to ourselves and to humanity to persist in our efforts to achieve disarmament within conditions of security that will create the kind of international climate which in turn may encourage the settlement of some of the major political problems dividing East and West.

#### Developments at UN.

Our membership in the United Nations, along with NATO, our membership in the Commonwealth and our proximity to the United States represent the cornerstones of foreign policy which have been recognized by all Governments in Canada. Developments at the United Nations, therefore, continue to occupy a very important place in Canadian foreign policy.





There are discussions proceeding between Canada and a number of countries with regard to the proposals for nuclear-free zones...As a member of the NATO alliance we must naturally take into consideration the views of our allies and the interests of the alliance itself... With regard to the proposals for nuclear-free zones in other areas of the world, we have given sympathetic support providing, as I have said before in answer to a question in this House, certain conditions which we believe essential are observed.

The atmosphere at the current Assembly appears calm in the sense that the tensions between the Communist and the non-Communist blocs have eased, thus eliminating one familiar obstacle to constructive action by the world body. But one direct consequence of understanding in one area has been to cause renewed activity in another of no less importance. I refer to race relations, which now emerge as one of the dominant factors in international affairs. The African states are understandably aroused at the failure of their persistent efforts in the United Nations and in the Specialized Agencies to bring about any appreciable change in the policies of South Africa and Portugal. These and other issues of colonialism and racial discrimination are being featured prominently in the Assembly debates. The aims and objectives sought by the African members are shared by almost the whole membership, but there is a substantial area of doubt about some of the measures proposed for achieving their desired ends.

Canada has consistently urged, under this Government, under the preceding Government and under the Government before that, that the membership of the United Nations should be comprehensive in character, and this is the fundamental reason we are opposed to any move to have members expelled from the United Nations. South Africa and Portugal have become the immediate object of such moves, which could have much wider application. There are within the organization other member states whose policies are just as repressive and just as discriminatory as the ill-advised and repugnant policies now being followed by these two countries. In all cases we believe that such policies are more likely to be modified if they are kept under close scrutiny by the United Nations than if the states concerned were to be expelled. Moreover, we believe that all such measures which conform strictly to the letter of the Charter of the United Nations could, unless carefully observed, create a situation resulting in far reaching harm to the United Nations itself....

#### UN Peace Keeping

I made clear at the United Nations the position of Canada and its determination and desire to see the United Nations strengthened in every possible way, particularly as regards capacity to engage in peace-keeping operations. We have urged other member states to follow the example of countries like Canada, the Scandinavian members and now the Netherlands, which have taken steps to prepare their national forces for emergency service with the United Nations.

We have called for the establishment of a compact military planning team in the Secretariat to assist the Secretary-General in the conduct of peace-keeping operations involving military personnel and equipment. We have offered



to share with other governments our experience which we have gained from extensive participation in peace-keeping operations over a period of many years in the United Nations and, pursuant to the Geneva accord of 1954, and through Canadian participation in the three International Supervisory Commissions operating in Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Laos. We see the suggestion for extensive participation outside the United Nations by interested countries as a possibility for giving strength to the idea of a world peace force together with the suggestion of improvements to the Secretariat by providing for the possibility of staff training for United Nations military operations. We are examining intensively, in this context and in others, ways in which these improvements can be achieved.

An important aspect of United Nations peace-keeping relates to the financing of...ad hoc operations, principally those in the Congo and in the Middle East. We have been greatly concerned in recent times...about the growing deficit in relation to the peace-keeping accounts of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has estimated that this might be about \$140 million by the end of 1963, and it is an indictment of our time that it should be possible for us to provide so readily, as we must, for our defences, when, at the same time, it is so difficult to get the necessary moneys to keep functioning properly the organization that was established at San Francisco to try to substitute pacific means, conciliation, adjudication and discussion, for settling disputes between nations; instead of resorting to force.

We believe that the financial burden should be shared by all members of the United Nations, not only by some of the great powers and some of the lesser powers but by all the great powers and all the nations. There is room, of course, for offering the less-developed countries some measures of relief from their assessments when peace-keeping costs are high. There is none for absolving countries with a capacity to pay from their financial commitments.

We believe that the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in the Middle East should be continued as long as they are considered necessary, and this will be a determination based upon prevailing practical and other considerations....

The most recent peace-keeping effort of the United Nations, to which Canada is contributing an important element in the staffing and maintenance of the air component, is the observation mission in Yemen... The Government's decision to meet the Secretary-General's request for Canadian participation was consistent with our policy of supporting this fundamental aspect of United Nations activity. This was a hazardous experience. It was originally participated in by Yugoslavia, the country which supplied the ground force, and by Canada, which supplied the air component. The Governments of the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia undertook to supply the necessary finances for an initial two-month period. Following further commitments to finance an additional four months' operations, the Secretary-General has extended the mission until January 4, 1964, at which time the situation will, I expect, be reviewed by the Security Council.

But I must emphasize in this connection that the United Nations mission in Yemen is strictly a temporary operation limited to observing and verifying the progress of disengagement. It is not charged with the supervision





or enforcement of the agreement. Unfortunately, progress on disengagement to date has not been encouraging, and I can only express the sincere hope that the extension of this mission's period of responsibility will afford time for more effective implementation of the agreement. I also expect that time will be utilized in devising some civilian observation machinery more appropriate to the task in Yemen.

A situation must not be allowed to develop in which the parties would use the presence of the United Nations mission as a cover for the indefinite continuation of their involvement in the affairs of Yemen.

#### Canadian Support for UN

The Canadian Delegation at the United Nations is active, as in other years, in many other fields - in promoting disarmament, co-operating in outer space, scientific research in relation to the hazards of radiation, respect for human rights, and the programme of economic and social development carried out under the auspices of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. We shall continue our support for humanitarian programmes designed to alleviate refugee problems. We are actively engaged, as a member of the preparatory committee in each case, in the organizing work for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in March of 1964, and for the International Year of Co-operation in 1965....

Canada has been able in the United Nations, I believe, as I found in the period when I was there at the beginning of the session and from time to time when I returned, to strengthen bilateral relations with most member states, particularly with the new states of Africa. I have welcomed the occasion to talk to many of the representatives of the African states, to get to know their problems a little better and generally to let them understand the goodwill and the favourable disposition that Canada has toward them.

The opportunity for personal conversation on a wide range of subjects is, in my judgment, one of the valuable dividends of the General Assembly. Another is the ability of the organization to provide its member states with a wide variety of means for bridging and reconciling differences. This may be the real reason for striving ceaselessly to keep the United Nations in working order; for in spite of its imperfections this international instrument has demonstrated its capacity to respond to most of the basic needs of the international community in a period of exceptional difficulty....

#### Co-operation in the New Nations

I made reference a few minutes ago to the rapidly changing nature of the world in which we live. One of the most dramatic manifestations of change has been the emergence in the past few years of scores of new independent nations with widely varied backgrounds. In Africa a whole continent has come awake and for the first time has taken its place on the world stage. The vitality of these new countries, and their determination to play a significant part in world affairs, were demonstrated at the conference of the heads of some 32 independent African states held in Addis Ababa last May. At that meeting the Charter of the Organization for African Unity was adopted,



envisaging a new era of political and economic co-operation. At that gathering, the African states also served notice of their impatience with the rate of progress toward the solution of the remaining colonial problems.

The Portuguese African territories in South Africa are the focal point of anti-colonial pressure. In the case of Portugal, the difficulty arises from its claim that its overseas territories are an integral part of metropolitan Portugal. The time is, in fact, long overdue for Portugal to give some sign that it recognizes the principles of self determination in its overseas territories. The Canadian Government has made it clear that it cannot accept the theories on which Portugal's colonial policy is based. We welcome the reforms which Portugal has instituted during the past two years in its overseas territories. We hope that the Portuguese Government will wisely take the further steps which alone can turn aside the criticisms to which it is now exposed.

It is harder to foresee any solution to the problem of race conflict in South Africa. The Canadian Government can understand the fears of white South Africans about the possibility of being submerged and eventually forced out of their homeland. However, the Canadian Government cannot understand South Africa's claim that apartheid is the only solution, and we deplore the use of harsh and repressive measures offensive to fundamental human rights which are used to carry out this policy. We derive no pleasure, and I am sure no one in this House derives any pleasure, from seeing our former sister nation of the Commonwealth become an outcast amongst nations for its race policy. I repeat what I said at the United Nations, that we are prepared to help in any way possible to achieve a solution based on justice, but we cannot and we will not support one which is offensive to human dignity.

In Southern Rhodesia the race problem is not yet hardened along irrevocable lines. African leaders, including some Commonwealth leaders, have pointed out that it would not be in keeping with normal Commonwealth practice if Southern Rhodesia were given her independence under a Government which is not broadly representative of its whole population. More time is needed to search out a solution in Southern Rhodesia which will avoid the heavy problems now facing South Africa.

Elsewhere in former British colonial territory the movement toward independence marches steadily forward. Malaysia came into being on September 16, embracing Sarawak and North Borneo. We in this House welcomed wholeheartedly the founding of Malaysia. We now regret, along with the British Foreign Secretary who spoke on this yesterday, the external difficulties which have attended the birth of a state which we are satisfied is destined to enhance the peace and stability of Southeast Asia.

In the Caribbean we have watched with satisfaction the progress of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago since they achieved independence last year. They have provided reassuring models of stability in an area which has been otherwise turbulent. The Canadian Government continues to follow closely constitutional developments in other islands and territories in that region, and, as I have already announced, steps are being taken to improve and expand our aid arrangements for the region in the economic field....





### The Commonwealth

The nurturing of one of our other cornerstones of foreign policy, the Commonwealth, is a basic feature of our external policies. In the past few years membership has been progressively enlarged until today it embraces 16 sovereign states. The majority now are in Asia and in Africa. It is because of the special insight which the Commonwealth gives us into the new forces which have emerged in the post-war era that we most value this unique association of states. The Commonwealth practice of continuing consultation among members on matters of mutual concern is especially valuable in a world in which race and colour have too often tended to be divisive forces.

### The French Community

A second important group of newly emerging states meriting special attention from Canada are the 20 French-speaking states of Africa, most of which are members of the French Community. It is only natural that Canada, a bicultural state, should wish to contribute to the advancement of this important group of French-speaking African countries as it does to the African members of the Commonwealth. There is a natural link here that also prompts French African states to turn to Canada. Like all the countries of that continent, these states are faced with the enormous problems of education and economic and cultural development. It is our intention to increase the level and quality of our assistance to them in terms that are represented by the announcement I made a few days ago, the details of which are now being formulated into a plan, which will, I hope, be of increasing value in manifesting Canada's concern for these countries.

### Canada and OAS

...This Government is fully aware of the role that the Organization of American States plays in hemispheric affairs. We are aware, too, that there has been a noticeable growth of interest on the part of Canadians in connection with developments in Latin America, with which many of our citizens have a cultural, religious and social affinity.

This is not a question which can be settled summarily. There are a great many factors which the Government must take into consideration and which are being carefully weighed. To this end I have had discussions with the President of the Council of the Organization of American States, and I have had discussions with the President of the Inter-American Bank. We are watching carefully the discussions now going on within the organization concerning terms of membership, a matter of considerable importance as well to the Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean, which are showing increasing interest in participation. All these aspects of the question are now being actively reviewed....

### Objectives of Foreign Policy

A number of years ago a former Secretary of State for External Affairs, Right Hon. Louis St. Laurent, gave the following description of how Canada should pursue its international responsibilities:



"In her participation in international affairs Canada will, I hope, act with resolution, with responsibility, and also with restraint. We should not evade our international duties; but in discharging them we should not be influenced unduly by national pride and prejudice. I hope that in our foreign relations we can reconcile our first duty to our own people with our ultimate obligations to the international community. In a frightened and suspicious world this is not always easy."

His prescription for Canadian conduct is as valid today as when it was first enunciated on April 29, 1948, and the world is only now beginning to be slightly less beset by fear and suspicion than it was then, when the expansionist and threatening behaviour of international Communism provided the impetus for the present Western system of collective security, of which Canada is now an integral part.

The fundamental objective of Canadian policy was then, as it is now, to preserve peace and to seek a reduction in international tensions, whether those tensions arise from the ideological conflict between East and West or from the upheavals which have been engendered by the surge toward independence and higher living standards of former colonial and underdeveloped peoples. In our pursuit of these objectives we aim to maintain a balanced, realistic and co-operative outlook on international affairs, avoiding excesses of optimism, pursuing policies commensurate with our capabilities, and ensuring that Canada speaks with a reasonable and constructive voice in international councils.

I have dealt at length with relations with the Communist part of the world and with the less developed areas, because those are the dominant forces in contemporary international life, affecting directly the scope for Canadian initiative in international affairs. I have outlined what I believe to be some of the ways in which we can work toward a further relaxation of tension. But I do not wish to exaggerate the possibilities. We are far from the point where we can relax our vigilance. There is no evidence as yet that the decrease in international tension which has begun will prove so durable that the dismantling of our defences would be warranted. We must recognize that the collective security arrangements, which we have developed within the North Atlantic alliance, by their very effectiveness have been a major factor in bringing about the more hopeful atmosphere which prevails today. NATO, which embraces our major military efforts in both Europe and North America, remains one of the main cornerstones on which Canadian foreign policy rests and must rest, not only in our preparations to defend ourselves if the need to do so should be thrust upon us but also in our approach to an era of peace, if that should materialize; and on this question I think the latter is the more likely consequence and result.

### The Atlantic Community

It is important to recognize in this connection that NATO is not just a military alliance but an assembly of nations with common ideals and a high identity of purpose, in peace and in war. Since the competition between the Communist and democratic worlds will certainly continue, even if war is abandoned by Communism as an instrument of policy, all members of the Western world will be faced with the same problems of how best to respond. Thanks to





the habit of consultation which has been developed over the years, the organization today is well equipped to become a central forum for co-ordination of Western policies in the more hopeful period that may lie ahead. The forthcoming ministerial meeting of NATO in December, which some of my colleagues and I will attend, will be of great importance in exchanging views and charting a common course.

That meeting will also be significant in another sense. As a consequence of the re-emergence of Europe as a major world power centre, certain changes in relationships are taking place within the alliance. This development is itself in large measure the product of enlightened policies consistently pursued through the post-war period. It is inconceivable to me that, in the moment of success of policies so deliberately pursued, there should be a fear to accept the consequential change in transatlantic relationship that inevitably had to ensue.

There is no cause for concern in the evolutionary process taking place in the West. To be sure, certain problems have been introduced into the relationship within the Western family of nations, but I stress that these problems can and will be resolved without undermining the fundamental cohesion of the Western alliance, and certainly without harmful consequences to any outside nation.

#### Continuity in Canadian Policy

...I conclude this statement on Canadian foreign policy as I see it at the present time, a policy that is predicated upon certain constants, membership in the Commonwealth, membership in the United Nations, membership in NATO, our traditional and cultural affinity with France, one of the great and strong nations of the world and one of the strong powers in Europe today. I dedicate the efforts of this Government anew to the twin objectives of promoting the Atlantic partnership, while working unremittingly for international peace and stability.

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S/C





## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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### THE 1967 WORLD EXHIBITION - WORK IN PROGRESS

Text of an address by Mr. R.F. Shaw, Deputy Commissioner-General, Canadian World Exhibition, before the eighteenth Federal-Provincial Tourist Conference, Ottawa, November 26, 1963.

I very much appreciate this opportunity to report to the eighteenth Federal-Provincial Tourist Conference on the Universal and International Exhibition to be held in Montreal in 1967. Believe me, we are fully aware of the important part which those who are represented here today will play in the success of the Exhibition.

We of the Canadian World Exhibition Corporation can plan, construct and operate, but we look to you to bring our visitors to us in comfortable convenience, to take care of them while they are outside the gates of the Exhibition and to persuade them to visit other parts of Canada before or after their visit to Montreal. Believe me, we will do everything possible to assist you in this endeavour but we are certainly depending on you to take the lead. The 1967 World Exhibition will be a success only in as much as it will draw people from the four corners of the earth and send them back to their homes happy and satisfied and carrying with them the image of a growing and powerful Canada - a nation which has reached maturity after 100 vigorous years.

If you are to accept this important assignment, you should begin to know now the details of our policy and our progress.

#### Theme of Exhibition

Our theme is "Man and his World" and we hope that we will never lose sight of this theme in our development of the Exhibition and its policies. Even in our emblem we have attempted to capture the feeling of the theme. We have used one of the most ancient representations of man, as found in a pre-historic cavern. A vertical line, joined by two arms forming a "Y" and reaching up to the heavens in a gesture of exultation or prayer. But this man is not alone. The arm of his brother or neighbour reaches out towards his extended hand, leaning on it and supporting it. In this way, around the world, a vast network of human solidarity is created.

We have carried this thought also into our plans for the presentation of our theme exhibits.





Commissioner-General Dupuy has said that an International Exhibition is a photograph of the world at a given point in time. Each World Exhibition has had its science building, or its medical building, or its arts building. These have shown, in museum form, the achievements of man and the wonders he has produced.

We plan to adopt a different approach. We propose for our science and cultural exhibits to show man in his environment, to show how he has attempted to study, explain, and to alter his environment for the better. Finally, he has created a new environment in which his descendants have had the opportunity to study, explain and change.

Therefore, in 1967 you will find exhibits with such names as "Man and the Polar Regions", "Man and the Oceans", "Man in Space", and "Man and the City".

Let me explain one of our dreams.

We can visualize that "Man of the City" might be demonstrated through the use of the new moving-picture technique known as "Labyrinth", in which the viewer is surrounded by the picture as if he himself were standing in the middle of it. I am sure that you can imagine the fascinating fashion in which the viewer can be taken through the history of men, living together in communities. Finally, imagine stepping from the theatre into a room with a large picture-window facing across the St. Lawrence River toward the Montreal sky-line. Around the other three walls would be some of the famous paintings of the old city of Montreal, and on the floor, a model of the city as it might be 100 years from now.

Let your thoughts wander also to the story which can be told of man's efforts to conquer the polar regions and to create a useful and prosperous community life under conditions of extremes in climate. We can illustrate man's progress by pointing out to our visitors that the ground upon which Montreal stands was considered - only 200 years ago - as a useless frozen wasteland.

In every exhibit the central figure will be man and what he has done, is doing and hopes to do with his environment.

### The Location

Let us move now to the more practical considerations in which I, for one, feel more at home. A beautiful and spectacular site has been chosen in the middle of the St. Lawrence River across which the visitors can look at the sky-line of old and new Montreal.

The beauty of this spot was recognized by its discoverer, Samuel de Champlain, who named it after his wife, Helene, in 1612.

For over 100 years, the island was owned by the Le Moyne family, descendants of the deuxième Baron de Longueuil and one of a famous family of explorers who travelled from Hudson Strait down to Montreal - up through the



Great Lakes - down the Mississippi - and across to Cuba. They left their mark. There are no less than three cities named Le Moyne in the United States of America.

St. Helen's Island became a fortress for the protection of the city but, when it was no longer required for this purpose after 1812, it became a park and picnic ground for Montrealers and has remained so to this day.

Thirty-five years ago a plan was presented to the City of Montreal which suggested the development of the park, which would leave the original island untouched but extend the area by filling downstream over Ile Ronde, upstream over Ile Verte, and create new islands along the south shore of the river.

#### Following an Old Idea

It is remarkable how closely the present plan for the World Exhibition follows this old idea. On the upstream side, to the left, St. Helen's Island will be increased by 55 acres to incorporate the present Ile Verte. On the downstream, or righthand side, St. Helen's Island has been extended to provide 135 acres and to incorporate Ile Ronde. Along the river side of the St. Lawrence Seaway, a group of islands will be combined to form the 310-acre Ile Notre Dame. And finally, over 100 acres of Montreal island, known as MacKay Pier, will form the entrance and approach to the main centre of the Exhibition. The original St. Helen's Island of about 120 acres will be left untouched to form a natural park - resting place for exhibition visitors. A total of about 720 acres.

Actual experience of other World Exhibitions has shown that we probably do not need as much acreage as is now proposed and, in fact, the Bureau of International Exhibitions has suggested a total of 500 acres to provide for a World Exhibition of the first category, including approaches, parking and "elbow room". It may be, therefore, that not all of the acreage possible will be developed.

To solve our approach and access problem, we have made surveys of the number of visitors and the directions from which they will approach the Exhibition. On our absolute peak day, approximately 400,000 people will visit the Exhibition and most of them will come from the Island of Montreal. Stated in other words, our more than 6,000,000 tourists who will come to the Exhibition from outside the Montreal area will go first to hotels or the homes of friends and relatives to arrange their lodgings before they actually visit the Exhibition site.

#### Approach Routes

Visitors will approach the Exhibition by car or from the airport, railroad stations and shipping terminals by a system of expressways to be completed before 1967. Through the longitudinal centre of Montreal Island will run the Trans-Canada Expressway, which picks up the traffic from the mountain resort area to the north coming down the Laurentian Autoroute.





Through the centre of the city a new expressway will run along Decarie Boulevard and down to join the new Champlain Bridge and this will be tied in with an extension to Highway No. 2 running closer to the river and picking up traffic from the Mercier Bridge upstream and to the left. On the south shore, a new Highway No. 3 will be constructed, joining the four bridges - Mercier, Champlain, Victoria and Jacques Cartier - and will carry on to the new Boucherville Tunnel crossing downstream. Finally, a short highway will take traffic from the north end of the Champlain Bridge along the river front to the Exhibition and then swing up into the centre of the city and the hotel area.

To gain access to St. Helen's Island, the City of Montreal will extend its new subway under the river to stations on the extension of St. Helen's Island, on the new Ile Notre Dame and in the south shore community of Longueuil.

The Exhibition will construct a new bridge from the MacKay Pier to the upstream extension of St. Helen's Island, and this bridge may be continued by a tunnel under the St. Lawrence Seaway to permit the entrance of automobile traffic from the south shore.

#### Exhibition Sub-Areas

The Exhibition itself will be on four main areas:

The MacKay Pier, where the stadium, Palais des Congrès, administration buildings, temporary housing and probably some boutiques and restaurants will be located.

Pavilions and theme buildings will be located on the two extensions of St. Helen's Island.

And the amusement park and possibly some pavilions will be located on Ile Notre Dame to complete the complex.

The internal transportation system will be required to transport some 30,000 people per hour from one end of the Exhibition to the other - in about 20 minutes. We plan to use a monorail or similar system from the centre of the hotel area at the Central Station down to the Exhibition entrance at the end of MacKay Pier, along the Pier, across the bridge and then looped into the parking area at Ile Notre Dame. The mass-transportation system will continue from the upstream end of St. Helen's Island, around the present park to the downstream extension and then by a spectacular ride across the Jacques Cartier Bridge, 150 feet above the harbour level, and on to the City again.

To date, our planners have made several further developments and refinements of this plan and we expect to have our completed plot plan or master plan by December 20.

The bridge from MacKay Pier, the internal transportation system, the crossing of the Seaway and the site services are all under design.

The basic design of our theme buildings is also scheduled for December 20.



The dykes outlining the extensions to St. Helen's Island and Ile Notre Dame beside the Seaway are well advanced.

The approach ramps from the existing Jacques Cartier Bridge to St. Helen's Island are being reinforced to take heavy construction traffic and the dredges are at work filling inside the dykes.

There are at present a total of 5 dredges digging up the river bottom to make our islands, ranging in size from the huge "Hydro Quebec" and the "Canadian" down to the lighter "24-inchers". It is quite a sight to see the combination of boulder, pebble, sand and water spewing from the pipe discharges.

I think I should tell you that we have a young, hard-working, rapidly-growing and enthusiastic organization. Practically all of our top people have been given to us by government departments and companies who recognize the vital importance of this great project to Canada. We are led by His Excellency M. Pierre Dupuy, who has spent 42 years in the foreign service of Canada, climaxed in recent years by his appointment to the post of Canadian Ambassador to France.

I would like to conclude by quoting the answer of our new General Manager to a newsman who asked him why he had accepted such an important post with an organization which had been in so much trouble. "It is true" said Mr. Andrew Kniewasser, "that the Canadian World Exhibition Corporation has had some trouble in the past. It is equally true that it still has some troubles, and that it will most certainly find more trouble in the future. That's why I accepted the job."

This statement is typical of the present atmosphere on the twenty-fourth floor of Place Ville Marie.

If we can keep it up - and I'm sure we can - there will be a first-class Exhibition in Montreal in 1967.

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S/A





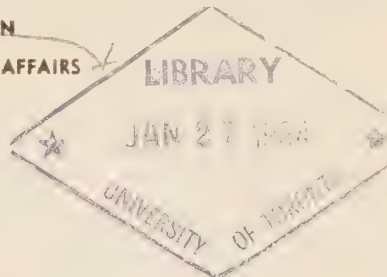


## STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

OTTAWA - CANADA



No. 63/25

### CANADA'S DUAL HERITAGE

Address by His Excellency Governor-General  
Georges P. Vanier during the Inauguration of  
the Programme of French-Canadian Studies at  
McGill University, Montreal, on November 26,  
1963.

(Translation)

Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Principal,

My first duty, and a most pleasant one, is to congratulate you on the happy initiative that you have taken in establishing a programme of studies on French Canada. This is a warm gesture towards your French-speaking fellow-citizens, which I am sure they will not fail to appreciate. In addition to that gesture, you have very kindly invited me to address you in French. Need I say that I accept your invitation with pleasure.

The programme which has just been described is comprehensive and will assist the spread of the French spirit within the University. I also note that you have formed an Advisory Committee in which you have assembled university people not only from the Province of Quebec but also from other provinces. In this way you will have the invaluable co-operation of other universities, both French and English speaking.

The task that you are undertaking can contribute very considerably to unity in Canada, and thus to the greatness and prestige of our country.

You have understood that your University may play a part in acting as an interpreter of Quebec and the rest of Canada one to the other. This is the hope expressed here recently by one of your Governors, Mr. Arnold Heeney, at a dinner of the Faculty of Law:

"Upon one aspect, participation in public affairs, the direct service of the state, I can speak with more personal knowledge. Here it seems to me that the English minority in Quebec -- McGill men and women especially - have a special responsibility and a unique opportunity. This is true in both politics and the permanent public service. For who should be as well qualified to explain in Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada the core and meaning of French-Canadian aspirations? Or who, in Quebec, should be as well fitted to interpret the views of the rest of Canada...?"



You have understood the importance of French culture in the world, the benefits which it can bring, the essential role that it plays here in your immediate neighbourhood. You are right in wishing to understand French culture.

In the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, France, through her cathedrals and her poets, played a preponderant part in our Western world. And, in order to understand our modern world, to grasp its deepest aspirations, its need for justice and liberty, whether in anguish or revolution, is it not in France that we should seek its origins and principal initiators? The French language, coming as it does from Latin and Greek, offered a unique means of expression, of clear and orderly analysis, and so of universal communication. Over the centuries French has added to its wealth through a history which, while no doubt playing a military, political and economic part of the highest importance, exercised to an even greater extent a spiritual influence on the world through its artists, philosophers and saints.

### Language and History

The mutual knowledge of our two languages and of our two cultures will help us to understand the respective histories of France and of Great Britain. Are they not to some extent one and the same history? From the general point of view, how can we possibly separate these two countries which, almost always, are to be found together in the same military, scientific, diplomatic and economic fields? According to the time or place, one precedes the other, but in most cases the second one immediately reappears as a competitor or as a protagonist. The history of these two countries is the same, but seen from two different angles according to the two different but complementary genii. If these two great nations have come up against one another so frequently in the past, either on a battlefield or in a race to explore some unknown universe, or to extend their respective empires, was it not because they both had the same sense of universality and the same noble and magnanimous will to spread civilization?

The world will not find peace, except through the harmonization of the universe as a whole. France and England -- countries which in history and geography represent the world at middle age -- retain an essential role, and it is this that explains the spiritual destiny of our country. By her geographical and historical situation, Canada, if it wishes, can have a leading role to play in the conciliation of other nations, in the effort to bring together all men of good faith for the realization at last of a unity that will permit every man in every country to have a human existence in justice and in peace here on earth.

So it is that English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians must know one another and understand one another in order that they may continue the long tradition of Anglo-French civilization.

Rudyard Kipling expressed the same thought in the following terms at the Sorbonne in November 1921:

"For 30 generations, France and England in secular but fruitful conflict have engendered and sustained a civilization which has been attacked by an immense and highly organised barbarism..."





In this joint secular work, France has made an immense contribution to the heritage of the moral, spiritual and civilizing forces of humanity. In fact, the world is her debtor. Her culture has enlightened and enriched it for centuries.

#### Earliest Element of Canadian Culture

These are some of the reasons, taken from history, which should incite Canada to know and to understand France. I would add another. French culture was the first element of civilization planted in Canada. Nothing can change the historic fact, that during 200 years it was the only one in the country. Many Canadians are unaware of its existence because of their distance from the centre of this culture, but it exists in abundance, and has made in cultural affairs a prodigious progress during the past few years. I will not offend you who know how important it is by an enumeration of its many manifestations. They are so numerous in the fields of literature, painting, sculpture, music, the theatre, and the dance, that I might run the risk of omitting some. Those who wish to know what these cultural activities are have only to consult the report which is published annually by the Canada Council.

And this culture goes back a long time. Because of my forebears, anything I say about French culture in Canada might be thought biased, so I shall quote the testimony of a few of my predecessors.

Here is what Lord Dufferin said in Quebec in 1878:

"It is needless for me to assure you with what pleasure I again find myself taking part in those refined and artistic relations with which the French race delight to solace their leisure ... It has been one of the happy peculiarities of your nationality that you have ever known how to enliven the serious occupations of life by a graceful gaiety and to introduce a brilliancy of colour amid the sombre shadows of our dull work-a-day world. This happy temperament not only sheds its benign influence over your social existence, but it has invested everything you have touched -- your architecture, your literature, your history -- with a most attractive individuality. Brilliancy, picturesqueness, dramatic force, a chivalrous inspiration -- these are the characteristics which have thrown over the annals of Canada a glamour of romance which attaches to the history of no other part of the continent ...

"Your past has refused to die. Its vitality was too exuberant, too rich with splendid achievements, too resonant, too replete with the daring and gallantry of stately seigneurs -- the creations of able statesmen -- the martyrdoms of holy men and women, to be smothered by the dust of ages, or overwhelmed by the uproar of subsequent events."

The Marquess of Lorne, on his arrival in Quebec in 1879, said in French:



"I am expressing these sentiments in that beautiful language which, in so many countries and during so many centuries, was considered as the prototype of a clear and concise expression of man's feelings and the best interpreter of human thought.

"The whole world, when it makes use of it, remembers as you do that it is the language which, in the Church, was used with eloquence by Saint Bernard and Bossuet and that it was used on the battlefield by Saint Louis, Du Guesclin and the Maid of Orleans.

Lord Tweedsmuir, at Quebec, speaking to the Congrès de la langue française in June 1937, declared in French:

"Canada has been fortunate to inherit two great European traditions: the French and the English. You have retained your language, your laws, your religion and your culture, so rich in history and so precious for the whole of Canada. Your language especially is a priceless gift, for French language and literature constitute a wealth not only for French-speaking Canada but for English-speaking Canada as well."

Still speaking in French, he added:

"Your poetry, which expresses the soul of a people so well, has deeply impressed me. French Canada is only just starting on its literary career. It combines all the elements of a great literature -- a people whose history is one of the most romantic to be found, and a peasantry which has fortunately remained in close contact with the soil and preserved its ancient traditions. I foresee French Canada taking part and distinguishing itself in those achievements of the mind which will always constitute the basis of true civilization, for it shares two great traditions, the French and the English."

Such testimonies show that Canada has long been a centre of French culture. In time, it will become, I have no doubt, truly a genuine source of this culture and will thus make an essential contribution to the development and to the heritage of French genius.

### French Pathfinders

Why should Canada have a special affection for France? In the first place, because it was the French who founded Canada; their presence is felt everywhere. Their roots are thrust deep in the earth. The first to leave their imprint were the martyrs, the discoverers, the settlers. These pioneers not only penetrated Canada but the United States also. You know enough of your history that I need not recall for you the explorations of: Champlain to Georgian Bay, 1615; Brulé, Sault Ste. Marie, 1620; Jean Nicolet to Lake Michigan, 1634; Radisson and Groseillers, to Hudson Bay, 1662; Albanel to Hudson Bay, 1672; Louis Jolliet and Père Marquette to the Mississippi, 1673; LaSalle, the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, 1682; LaVérendrye and his two sons to the South Saskatchewan River by way of Lake Superior, 1731, and on to the foothills of the Rockies in 1743. In this common thought I associate with these Frenchmen such men as Hudson, Kelsey, Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Hearne, and all those who contributed to the exploration of Canada.





Addressing French Canada at Montreal on November 21, 1872,  
Lord Dufferin declared in French:

"A brave and noble race which was the first to provide Europe with the means of importing civilization to the American continent. A valorous and fearless nation, whose explorations into the hinterland of this continent enabled European industry to take root not only on the shores of the St. Lawrence, but also in the rich valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi; through the sound judgment and the instinct that characterize them, the early forts they erected and the first settlements they established have today become the nucleus of large cities and powerful populations, and it is to their present co-operation and natural intelligence that we owe a good part of the prosperous state of this province."

#### Canada in France

Another reason for Canada to have a special affection for France, and for France to have a special affection for Canada, is that there has been an extension of Canada into France. In the course of two Great Wars 110,000 Canadians gave their lives. In so far as it has been possible for me to establish, there are 50,000 of these who lie buried in France. These are striking figures, which reveal the vigour, the valour and the courage of Canadians. Only a country which possesses these qualities can make such an effort despite a sparse population. No, Canada, with so many of her children over there, cannot renounce her intimate friendship with France. The dead and the living are but one in the narrow and profound communion of the nation.

Each of us carries the hope of those who have gone and those who are yet to come. Upon each of us is incumbent the duty to keep the sacred fire which, across the ages, has enlightened and inspired men who adhere faithfully to the principles of truth, of justice, and of charity.

A part of France belongs to us: Vimy, where on the Canadian monument there are inscribed the names of more than 11,000 Canadians missing during the First World War. The Government of France has officially ceded to us this most sacred ground. But it is not only Vimy which belongs to us. I claim the land wherever our dead lie in France. Canadians, whether living or dead, will always be at home there. Our dead rest far from their native land, it is true, but the flowers of France adorn their graves and French hearts surround them with profound and grateful affection, particularly on Remembrance Day. Recently, at a large official luncheon in Montreal, the French Minister of Cultural Affairs proposed the following toast:

"I lift my glass to the first French child who, on Remembrance Day, will put a flag on the tomb of a Canadian soldier."

The landings on the sixth of June were profoundly meaningful for our country. Many of the Canadians who, at that time, set foot on the soil of Normandy were the descendants of the French pioneers who, during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, left their country to found a New France.



But, without distinction of origin, all the Canadians who disembarked were proud of being able to participate in the liberation of the country which was for so long, and will remain, a home and bastion of human liberties.

When I went to the Cimetière des Vertus at Dieppe, I found graves of Canadians from every province. These men rest peacefully side by side in death. It is inconceivable that the heirs to the great Western civilization should be unable to find a brotherly way of life based upon respect for rights conferred by history, a respect for conventions freely accepted nearly a century ago but adapted to the exigencies of our time.

For Canada to be a great nation, strong and united, there must be among English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians a living and profound sense of the need of one for the other. This friendship supposes, in the first place, a clear and decided devotion to the common good of the nation, but it depends also upon frequent and friendly relations between the different communities, and these relations cannot be friendly unless each community tries to understand the other, to respect its just wants and to complete and aid its needs. The soul of a country is great and strong by the unity of its ideal and of its aspirations.

We have already said that the annals of history record the glory and the renown of Great Britain and of France. The future of Canada is intimately allied to this fabulous double heritage. I hope and pray that Canadians of Anglo-Saxon and French descent, whose two cultures are a source of mutual enrichment, will be an example of fraternal co-existence, and that they will advance hand in hand to make of Canada a great nation, hand in hand also with Canadians of all origins, without distinction of race or creed, with their languages and their cultures.

In conclusion, let me quote the last paragraph of my Installation Address:

"Each one of us, in his own way and place, however humble, must play his part towards the fulfilment of our national destiny. To realize how mighty this destiny will be let us lift our eyes beyond the horizon of our time. In our march forward in material happiness, let us not neglect the spiritual threads in the weaving of our lives. If Canada is to attain the greatness worthy of it, each of us must say 'I ask only to serve'."

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s/c















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